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Soviet Preparations To Destroy Missiles

LD2707132988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0828 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jul (ADN)—The USSR will set about the destruction of the OTR-22 and OTR-23 missiles withdrawn from the territory of the GDR and CSSR next Monday near the Kazakh village of Saryozek, close to Alma-Ata, the Soviet press has announced. This will be the practical implementation of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles of the two countries. An operational group under Colonel Stanislav Petrenko, head of the administration for the destruction of shorter-range missiles of the USSR Ground Forces, has already gone to the destruction site.

The preparations to explode the missiles were introduced immediately after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty, Colonel Petrenko said. In January this year, the Center for the Reduction of Nuclear Risks was set up at the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. Centers were set up at those facilities that had intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in order to oversee their destruction. The Ground Forces, Colonel Petrenko continued, would themselves destroy their missiles in Saryozek. The launch ramps and transportation facilities will be eliminated not far from the settlement of Stankovo near Minsk. Within 1 and ½ years, reckoned from the exchange of ratification documents, that would be a total of 238 launch ramps, 150 transportation facilities, and 937 combat and 311 exercise missiles.

Apart from a U.S. inspection group, a delegation of the World Peace Council and foreign correspondents will witness the destruction.

U.S. INF Inspector Interviewed in Ulan-Ude

LD2707170788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] A group of Soviet inspectors has arrived at Travis Air Force Base, near San Francisco. They are monitoring the implementation of provisions of the INF Treaty. This group will join the 22 Soviet experts who are in Magna, Utah where there is a plant producing components for Pershing-2 missiles, which are to be destroyed according to the treaty. A similar group of U.S. experts is working in our country. Here is what Monko Achirov, our Ulan-Ude correspondent, reports:

[Achirov] At Ulan-Ude airport, everybody is now used to the presence of C-141 military transport aircraft at the end of the tarmac. The group of inspectors monitoring [kontrol] the implementation of the INF Treaty is headed by Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, director of the corresponding administration of the U.S. Defense Department.

[Begin recording] [Lajoie] All the initial inspections have gone very well. On our side, we have completed about 50 inspections of Soviet bases in the USSR, the GDR, and the CSSR. Your inspectors have not been wasting their time either. They have carried out 13 inspections in the United States and at U.S. bases in Western Europe.

[Achirov] Could you speak about the working conditions created for your inspectors in Ulan-Ude? Maybe your staff has reported to you?

[Lajoie] I must admit that, although I have worked for 5 years in our embassy, I have never been in Ulan-Ude. But the treaty gave me the opportunity to see this area. It is my first visit. All my inspectors—who, as I have already said, have completed about 20 inspections here—have said that they were well organized, that they were well received; they have no complaints. Everything has been okay.

[Achirov] For the first time since World War II the U.S. and Soviet military become partners in combined work.

[Lajoie] I think this is good. It is high time to take such a step and this step is in the right direction. You know, the treaty [words indistinct] but the purpose of this treaty is simple and it consists in eliminating [word indistinct] of missiles. We all are for this purpose and we all are happy to play at least a small part in this process. [end recording]

NATO's 'Peculiar Reaction' to Pact Proposals

LD2707124088 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev

There has been a peculiar reaction from the NATO headquarters to the latest initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty Organization on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

At first it was stated in Brussels that the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries does not meet NATO's fundamental demand for asymmetrical reduction of Soviet Armed Forces. Later, clearly under the pressure of the world public opinion, NATO officials described the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries as businesslike and encouraging. And finally, some NATO leaders came out with statements whose essence is that there have been no initiatives of Warsaw Treaty countries on conventional forces, that the West has made several obvious positive signals over the recent month, while the Warsaw Treaty Organization has given no response.

NATO's stand with regard to proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries essentially remains negative so far. The North Atlantic bloc countries insisting above all on the reduction of tanks and artillery, and on unilateral reduction, to be made by the Warsaw Treaty countries only.

NATO strategists would not consider elimination of asymmetry and imbalances in the areas of military might in which NATO has the obvious advantage in Europe—tactical aviation, combat helicopters, anti-tank systems, aircraft carriers.

The NATO headquarters in Brussels have not given an intelligible answer to the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to exchange data on the military might of the two alliances before the opening of the talks, to verify these data thoroughly by means of on-site inspections. It is surmised that such an exchange of data can destroy NATO's myth about the "overwhelming military preponderance" of the Warsaw Treaty countries which was used by NATO officials for the stepping up of the arms race.

NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner declares that the North Atlantic alliance will be able to present its concept of disarmament in Europe only by the summer of next year.

NATO officials have been constantly using the argument about the "overwhelming preponderance" of the Warsaw Treaty countries in conventional forces in order to oppose progress at the talks on nuclear and space arms, in order to prevent the creation of nuclear and chemical weapons free zones in Europe. Now that countries of the socialist community propose to embark above all on the levelling out of the military might of the two alliances for individual indexes, NATO strategists beat a retreat.

For what reason?

It is now talked in the West about confusion in the ranks of NATO in the face of a "new peace drive of the Warsaw Treaty countries", about the fact that the interest of separate members of the alliance do not coincide, about the impact of the coming presidential elections in the USA on the working out of the single stand of the alliance with regard to the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

But the point of the matter, apparently, is that the NATO leaders are not yet ready to give up their course at achieving military preponderance in Europe. The stereotypes of the prenuclear age are apparently too deeply ingrained in the minds of politicians and military from the North Atlantic bloc.

TASS Notes UN Consultations on Gulf Conflict

LD2707233088 Moscow TASS in English 2310 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 28 TASS—U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar met on Wednesday Iraqi Deputy Prime-Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz, who is currently in New York for consultations on a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Later in the day talks opened at the U.N. Headquarters between the Iraqi delegation and the U.N. secretary general to discuss all aspects of implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 on ways towards peace in the more than seven year old bloody war between Iran and Iraq.

Tariq 'Aziz stressed that in the course of these talks the Iraqi side would wish to convince themselves that true, solid and comprehensive peace is being prepared. He noted that, in the opinion of the Iraqi side, the first step and start of constructive work should be direct talks between the two sides with the assistance of the U.N. secretary general. "If Iran does not accept this formula, this means that it is not sincere on the issue of peace.

Perez de Cuellar has also planned a meeting with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

According to the U.N. secretary general both sides have a stake in putting an end to that conflict. My duty, he said, is to work in close contact with them, to ensure positive results as soon as possible. He voiced hope that both sides realise that the conflict can be settled only on the basis of a compromise rather than the demands of one or the other side.

Iran's acting permanent representative to the U.N. Mohammad Ja'far Mahallati noted in a letter addressed to the president of the U.N. Security Council, which was issued here on Wednesday, that Iraq had launched "an unprecedented series of attacks in Iran's north-western area. As a result Iraqi Armed Forces broadly penetrated Iran's territory. This is happening at a time when the Iranian foreign minister is in New York and declared the preparedness of the Iranian Government to cooperate effectively with the U.N. secretary general for assistance in the immediate implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 (on ways for a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict), the letter stresses.

It is absolutely obvious, the letter says, that such Iraqi actions will inevitably undermine the atmosphere of cooperation necessary for any constructive negotiations. Paulo Nogeira Batista (Brazil), president of the U.N. Security Council, met on Wednesday with Iraqi Deputy Prim-Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz and expressed to him the opinion of all the members of that most important U.N. body on the need for both sides in the Iran-Iraq conflict to show utmost restraint in military operations. Nogeira Batista stressed that all the U.N. Security Council members had strongly condemned any use of chemical weapons.

Mohammad Ja'far Mahallati, Iran's acting permanent representative to the U.N., visited on Wednesday the president of the U.N. Security Council. As Mahallati told newsmen he had expressed to the president of the U.N. Security Council Iran's serious concern in connection with the intensification of actions by the Iraqi Armed Forces, which, as he put it, are carrying out large scale military operations deep in Iran's territory and were also using chemical weapons on the southern sector of the front. Iraq, Mahallati said, puts forward preliminary conditions to the current consultations here, which hampers the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 (on ways of settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict). How is it possible to speak about the seriousness of Iraq's intentions at the talks in New York if the Iraqi Armed Forces are at the same time using chemical weapons, he said.

The Iranian representative accused Iraq of trying to sabotage the talks by stepping up military operations.

Editorial Views Common European Destiny

PM2207135588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Europe's Common Destiny"]

[Text] How large and yet how small our "common European home" is! Its walls stretch from the Nordkinn-halvoya in the north to Punta de Tarifa in the south, from Cabo da Roca in the west to the polar Urals in the east. But this majestic edifice has no roof—a roof of all-European security—and many of its corners do not so much resemble a home as a powder magazine. It is hard to answer the question: What is there the most of in this home, which has grown from the cradle of modern civilization: cultural monuments or mass destruction systems? The same skies are pierced by the cupola of St. Isaac's Cathedral, Cologne Cathedral, Rheims Cathedral, and the torsos of lethal missiles which in some way faintly resemble their spires. They promise different futures to our "common European home" and different skies.

From the very first postwar day in the unforgettable month of May 1945, when Europe lay in ruins, the future of the continent was already rising to its feet. And people thought, what a future it would be! Viewing the ashes, Europeans sincerely stated: "Peace to this house!" But peace did not want to come to rest on the cupolas of old mother Europe. The terrible neologism of "Euroshima" appeared and became current. It said everything.

But the battle for Europe, or, to be more precise, the conscious battle for its peaceful future, was gathering momentum. Through the ice of the "cold war" and the lightning flashes of war fever, the idea of a "common European home" as the peaceful Areopagus of the peoples living there forged a path for itself and became a material force. And here we are at the end of the eighties in the 20th century. The green shoots of hope are more and more persistently pushing through the gray stones of Europe, and new political thinking has sharply elbowed out the old stereotypes. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles has moved the process of nuclear missile disarmament from its standstill. Its healthy reflection has at last begun to play on the walls of our "common European home."

How symbolic that the idea of holding a second, all-European "Reykjavik" [summit] this time—a meeting of all European countries to discuss just one question, the question of how to break the present vicious circle and ensure a transition from words to action in the sphere of conventional arms cuts—arose precisely on Polish soil, which has known all the horrors of virtually every European war, on that very same Polish soil where East meets West!

At the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference held in the Polish capital, the socialist countries proposed a whole range of initiatives to reduce military-political tension in Europe and consequently throughout the world. The participants in the conference appealed to all countries to unite and intensify their efforts in the interests of strengthening peace and security, implementing disarmament measures, and creating an atmosphere conducive to broad dialogue and the democratization of international life. In this respect, the conference participants proceeded from the indivisibility and growing interdependence of the world and from the need to establish the priority of common human values in relations between all states.

It is precisely on this foundation that the results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference are based—the communique, the Statement on Talks to Reduce Armed Forces and Conventional Arms in Europe, and a document on the consequences of the arms race for the environment and other aspects of ecological safety.

The Warsaw Pact states represented at the Warsaw Political Consultative Committee conference were guided by the idea of jointly building an indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation, a "common European home" in which an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust would be established. The foundations of this process are the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the final document of the Madrid meeting of CSCE participant countries. It was also emphasized that a condition of preserving lasting peace and security in Europe is the inviolability of borders and respect for current territorial and political realities, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and other universally recognized principles and norms of interstate relations.

The participants at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference truly had their finger on the pulse of the time. It dictates a move in the direction of deeper cuts in arms and forces in Europe. For this purpose, we must speed up agreement on a mandate in Vienna on the basis of which talks could begin on cuts in conventional arms and forces and on confidence-building measures on an all-European scale. Specific proposals in this respect are very clearly formulated in the Warsaw Pact statement.

We are talking about a three-phase reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is proposed to begin talks on this issue—which will tolerate no delay—this year. The statement also formulates and develops proposed measures to reduce and remove the danger of a surprise attack. In order to determine the correlation of forces of the two military-political alliances and disclose their imbalances and asymmetries in the sphere of armed forces and conventional arms, it is proposed to exchange relevant initial data necessary to conduct the talks. The authors of the statement feel that an important measure leading to a reduction in the danger of war and the creation of a more stable situation in Europe would be a substantial reduction in and then the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, including warheads for dual-purpose systems.

The statement envisages an effective verification system using national technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspections, with no right of refusal.

The state of the climate in our "common European home" depends to an enormous extent on the ecological environment in which it exists. That is why a special document was devoted to this issue at the July Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference.

The results of the official friendly visit to Poland by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference in the Polish capital are now the focus of attention of all the world public, primarily the European public. (IZVESTIYA regularly publishes their responses). These results are being interpreted in different ways in different corners of our "common European home" and beyond its walls. Some people across the ocean have hastened to allege that "another attempt" to drive a wedge between West Europe and the United States was made in Warsaw. Evidently things are not always better perceived from a distance. If this is a deliberate distortion, then it [not specified] is in for a tough time when faced with the facts. And the facts show that we are certainly not setting Europe apart from the destiny of other continents or the world as a whole by proposing to all European peoples and states to jointly build our peaceful future. We internationalists cannot be indifferent to the fate of any country or any people. What is more, in today's world an awareness of the interdependence of peoples' destiny and of their belonging to a world community must be a categorical imperative of international politics.

The "common European home" as perceived by Europe's socialist countries is not a castle cut off from the rest of the world by high fortress walls and a deep moat. No, it is a home whose doors are open wide to greet the winds of a peaceful future.

There will be such a home! And there will be peace for this home!

TASS Observer Views Current CSCE Talks

LD2607235088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jul (TASS)—TASS political observer Vladimir Matyash writes:

The CSCE meeting is nearing its end. Delegations from 35 countries in Europe, the United States and Canada are working on a document which is to sum up the Vienna forum and define the further development of the European process for creating a favorable political atmosphere on the continent. Thus, the meeting participants have reached the home stretch. The preparations for a new program for ensuring security and developing cooperation in Europe, and the continuation of detente, depend on their realism and political will.

An important stimulus for the Vienna meeting was provided by the new Soviet initiatives, aimed at reducing conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe, recently advanced in Warsaw by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the military-political field, the meeting succeeded in reaching an accord in principle that in 1988, within the pan-European process, negotiations will begin on cutting back armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. At the same time, the conference on confidence-building and security measures and disarmament in Europe will continue. On the issue of reopening the conference on confidence-building and security measures and disarmament in Europe, it is believed that the forum will continue to deal with solving disarmament problems with the participation of all 35 CSCE states.

The Warsaw Pact states at the conference worked out real confidence-building and security measures that aim at reducing the risk of military confrontation in Europe. Such measures, in the view of the USSR, should not apply only to activity on land but also to naval and air force activity. But NATO objects to the application of confidence-building measures to independent naval and air force activity, highlighting the issues of expanding the exchange of information about the structure and posting of armed forces, as well as the further development of the on-site inspection system.

In issues relating to the international legal bases of security and cooperation in Europe, the socialist countries advocate strengthening the efficacy of all 10 principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act and advocate effective steps to implement the provisions of the Final Act and the other CSCE documents both in legislation and in practice. However, some Western delegations are generally opposed to having the document reflect a readiness to conscientiously fulfill their obligations in respect to international law.

Mediterranean problems occupy one of the central positions. In Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the Yugoslav Assembly on 16 March, the Soviet Union backed the proposals by Yugoslavia, Cyprus, and Malta to convene a broad conference of CSCE member states on the whole package of problems of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. The position of the USSR and the other socialist countries is crystal clear here: solve problems connected with strengthening stability and the prevention of regional conflicts in the Mediterranean region.

The Soviet Union is striving to fill the final document with provisions that would create favorable conditions for mutually beneficial trade, cooperation in scientific and technical spheres, and the protection of the environment. This is considerably furthered by the processes of restructuring and radical economic reforms which are opening up wide opportunities for a new stage of development, one that applies to the entire package of economic cooperation between East and West. But some people in the West are stubbornly clinging to expanding the list of goods that come under the notorious COCOM (the list of goods which it is forbidden to sell to the socialist countries now contains 300,000 items), and various types of embargoes and sanctions and other discriminatory measures against the socialist countries have been tightened.

Finally, the Soviet Union believes human rights and humanitarian issues, which have long been an irritant in East-West relations, should be switched into a channel of practical interaction between member states. There has been a perceptible advance in the mechanism proposed by the USSR of mutual information, consultations, and cooperation in this sphere, one that is important to all. It is intended that within the framework of this mechanism, the member states will be able to exchange information on the human-rights situation and the humanitarian field as a whole in CSCE countries, and to hold meetings or consultations of experts to examine humanitarian cases with the aim of resolving them.

Problems Faced, Caused by Foreign Students

PM2207143188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 23-29 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 21 Jul 88) pp 2-3

[Interview with Yu.P. Kozhayev, deputy chairman of the All-Union Council for Foreign Student Affairs, by unnamed correspondent: "Foreign Students in the USSR"; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kozhayev] In order to limit the departure of young people from liberated countries to the USSR, they [the United States and other Western countries] use the mass media and disseminate works that lay claim to objectivity, such as, for example, the book "Russian Racism: Reds Against Blacks."

[Correspondent] What does it say?

[Kozhayev] More than half the foreign students in the USSR are representatives of African, Asian, and Latin American countries. It is obvious that the choice of place for disseminating the book—a book fair in an African country—was not accidental.

The material was selected in such a way that, in addition to lies, falsification, and garbles, it contains half-truths and authentic facts. "In the interests of those Africans," the authors write, "who are now considering an offer to study in the USSR we (allegedly former students—Yu.K.) have reported some of our impressions and set them forth here. Any student who has studied here is familiar with this..."

Now let us look at these "impressions":

"The majority of us are permitted to leave our student campuses not more than once a week—for brief outings to the stores. We are able to communicate only with our own compatriots."

"More terrible is the fact that several African students have been killed... The Soviet authorities ignored requests for an investigation into those incidents." Yes, we have had several such cases. The last one was in the city of Kharkov. The inquiry established the guilt of two Soviet citizens. Both were sentenced to death.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, as you remarked, there is some truth in this opus, albeit unpleasant for us. And this is understandable. Living in the USSR for many years, foreign students become part of our society, as it were, and naturally encounter the same problems as Soviet people. We, for example, are now saying and writing a great deal about the problems of national relations and about internationalism. Are these questions topical with regard to foreign students?

[Kozhayev] To a certain degree. Unfortunately, there are individual cases of an unfriendly attitude toward foreign students on the part of a section of our young people.

Several fights occurred recently—in the cities of Rostov-na-Donu, Minsk, Belgorod, and Ufa, for example—and some of those involved ended up in the hospital. An investigation is under way, and those found guilty will be punished.

Nevertheless, generally speaking, I would like to point out that during more than 60 years of training foreign students in the USSR the Soviet people's attitude toward them has been and is benevolent, regardless of where they study.

[Correspondent] Is it fair to accuse only one side in all cases?

[Kozhayev] Naturally, I do not want to say that all foreign students irreproachably abide by our laws, customs, and traditions. And this has to be taken into account when assessing such phenomena.

[Correspondent] Do foreign students commit other violations?

[Kozhayev] Yes, chiefly associated with the resale of individual goods in increased demand in our country.

[Correspondent] Our mailbag includes a number of letters touching on the problem of AIDS, and the writers of some of them associate the appearance of this problem in our country chiefly with foreign students.

[Kozhayev] Given the volume of the Soviet Union's foreign ties that exist and that are expanding year by year, it is hardly right to speak only of foreign students as potential "creators" of this problem in our country.

As you know, a system of preventive measures has now been drawn up in the country, and so we should not, in my view, dramatize the situation and fan unhealthy speculation about this.

[Correspondent] What, in your opinion, are the chief ways to resolve the serious problems you have mentioned?

[Kozhayev] The chief thing now is to improve the quality of the professional training of foreign students. We must also improve international work with Soviet young people, above all through patronal ties with associations and organizations of foreign students on the part of industrial enterprises, sovkhozes, kolkhozes, scientific establishments, and creative collectives.

Regular meetings between Soviet people and foreign students help them to a better knowledge of our history and culture, our problems and plans, our difficulties and ways to overcome them. Soviet people in turn take great interest in familiarizing themselves with the culture, traditions, politics, and economics of foreign countries whose citizens are studying in our country. There is a sharp increase in the number of such meetings during the summer and winter vacations, when thousands of foreign students join student construction detachments, work in the labor and rest camps organized on the basis of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and make excursions to cities in our country. In my opinion, such international contacts sometimes make Soviet people more quickly aware of some of our own national problems and lead to the more vivid manifestation of international feelings.

United States & Canada

Shultz Article Published in Soviet Journal

LD2707125388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0622 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jul (TASS)—The United States and USSR "can be proud of the progress achieved recently. But this is no cause for complacency. Maintaining this progress will be a difficult task for both the leadership and the peoples of the two countries," U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz writes in the August edition of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN.

"With the background of both countries' desire to reduce their strategic arms," he points out, "efforts will be continued in other fields of arms control. Both sides have displayed an innovatory approach; witness the verification experiment whose aim consists in paving the way to further improvement of the system of verification of the limitations introduced under the treaty regarding nuclear tests."

Analyzing the problem of regional conflicts, the head of the U.S. foreign policy department stressed that "there exist very real differences in the interests and aims of the United States and the Soviet Union in their approach to events in other regions of the world and in relations with them. At the same time, this should not hamper—and has not hampered—searches for the opportunity to find mutual understanding in order to settle protracted regional conflicts in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Central America." The Geneva accords on Afghanistan, in Shultz's opinion, provide some ground to hope that solutions may be found for other regional conflicts too. For instance, both sides are agreed that prospects have now improved for an end to the war in Angola and Namibia on the basis of the complete withdrawal of foreign troops participating in the conflict, and that there are prospects for national reconciliation there.

It would be unrealistic and dangerous to expect the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union to disappear, G. Shultz writes in conclusion, for there exist too great differences in the experience accumulated by both countries and their philosophies. Nevertheless, our leaders bear the responsibility for recognizing the existing potential for cooperation with each other and with other countries, in order to build a more peaceful and harmonious world.

Carlucci To Pay Official Visit in Aug

LD2707223288 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in keeping with a reached understanding of August at the invitation of General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and defense minister of the USSR.

Former POW Urges Defectors To Return Home

LD2707182688 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—Former Soviet serviceman Nikolay Ryzhkov declared at a press-conferfence held today at the Soviet NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY about the wish to "draw once again world public attention to the Soviet soldiers, who were taken prisoner in Afghanistan."

Nikolay Ryzhkov was taken prisoner by Afghan counterrevolutionaries in 1983 and later found himself in the USA, where he was persuaded to participate in anti-Soviet propaganda activities. To get back home he turned to the Soviet Embassy in the USA, reaffirming his preparedness to bear all responsibility for the misdeeds. Upon his return in the USSR he was sentenced to 12 years of deprivation of freedom. On July 4, 1988 Nikolay Ryzhkov was pardoned under a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"I realise how guilty I am to my homeland and I am prepared to atone for the guilt," he said, "in addition I urge those, who found themselves because of their thoughtlessness or as a result of deception in the Western countries, to do the same."

In so doing, he quoted the statement by Aleksander Sukharev, the Soviet procurator general, early in July this year, according to which the servicemen who were among the limited contingent of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and returned from prison, will enjoy all the political, social and other rights of the Soviet citizens envisaged under the constitution of the USSR. Those who are responsible for misdeeds against their homeland will be amnestied.

Addressing the press-conference, Igor Blishchenko, vice-president of the Soviet Lawyers Association, recalled that 313 Soviet servicemen are believed to be missing to date. These lists do not include the 14 former Soviet servicemen, who expressed the wish to stay in the West. "We intend to meet and talk with each of them, to find out the real reasons behind their decision", Igor Blishchenko said. We have learned that many of them were taken to the West forcibly or made their decisions under pressure. The Pakistani authorities and the Western anti-Soviet organizations more often than not prevent the holding of such meetings, motivating their refusal by the lack of knowledge about the whereabouts of the POW's or their reluctance to meet with us".

This has been confirmed by another speaker at the press-conference—Oleg Khlan. He said that while he was in captivity he was visited by a representative of the

International Red Cross who promised that he would return home via Switzerland. "Yet I was warned by the bandits the day before that if I agreed to that I would simply have no chance to get to Switzerland," he said.

The press-conference was sponsored with the participation of the coordination committee of the Soviet public for the release of Soviet servicemen who were taken prisoner in Afghanistan, and the Soviet Red Cross. Due to their vigorous efforts 22 former Soviet POW's have already been returned home.

Experience in U.S. Recounted

LD2707114188 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—How Nikolay Ryzhkov, a Soviet soldier who gave up to Afghan counterrevolutionaries in 1983, found himself in the USA and joined in the anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, is the subject of an interview published by the LITERARY GAZETTE weekly today.

The counterrevolutionaries kept Ryzhkov in one of their camps in Pakistan. "There was not much of a choice there, either you are tortured to death or do what you are told. They are experts at torturing. The most atrocious torture is not the physical one but anticipation of one's death day and night." At the same time, POW's knew evidence of their betrayal was planted on the Soviet command.

In this state Nikolay Ryzhkov and his fellow victim Aleksandr presented themselves before Lyudmila Thorn, a representative of the New York Freedom House, who arrived in Pakistan. She was working on an article about Afghanistan in a journal with the same name. "She reasoned in the following way," Nikolay Ryzhkov said. "Back home you are a traitor. Execution by firing squad is waiting for you there. In the United States, on the contrary, there are all creature comforts and joys of life. You will leave if you promise to cooperate in the propaganda campaign under any terms. If you do not agree, the Afghans are touchy and not easily manageable people..."

Frightened, Ryzhkov and his comrade gave their promises. "Thorn explained that since that time we should speak about voluntarily giving ourselves up, about disagreement with the policy of the Soviet Union and so on. Allegedly for the purpose of obtaining visas to leave for a capitalist country."

Then they were taken to Munich, to an area populated by American servicemen. There they gave their finger- and palm-prints and were checked on a lie detector. After that Ryzhkov was prepared to address a press conference in the Europarliament in Brussels. "Nearly two weeks were spent to instruct me on how to behave myself and what to say. They forced me to read a pile of documents on 'Soviet atrocities' in Afghanistan. Rehearsals took much time: different questions were asked and the only 'right' answer expected. The press conference was broadcast over British and French television, and covered by the broadcasting corporations BBC, VOA, Deutsche Welle and Radio Freedom. After that Ryzhkov was formally told that the U.S. Government had granted him political asylum. He left for the USA.

There, Ryzhkov says, he was summoned to the military intelligence, which was interested in the location of Soviet units, and their morale. Each call cost 50 dollars.

The above-mentioned Lyudmila Thorn organised press conferences for Ryzhkov and prepared texts about the "atrocities" of Soviet troops, even though she knew that he did not take part in hostilities. "Then I found that royalties for the press conferences and interviews were paid to Lyudmila. She also received money for the upkeep of our POW's from the International Salvation Committee, and still earlier got a bonus for those whom she managed to recruit in Pakistan for sending them to the USA.

To get back home, Nikolay Ryzhkov approached the Soviet Embassy. The military tribunal sentenced him to 12 years in prison, but Ryzhkov was recently pardoned by the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

His friend Aleksandr is still in the USA. According to Ryzhkov, he got "entangled with the CIA", is mercilessly exploited by well-known anti-Sovieteer Makarenko, who fabricated a film about the victims of political terror in the Soviet Union. Aleksandr tried unsuccessfully to commit suicide and is now ruining himself with drink.

Demichev Receives Visiting U.S. Filmmakers

LD2707181188 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—Petr Demichev, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and a first vice- president of the Presidium of he USSR Supreme Soviet, received a delegation of U.S. movie-makers in the Kremlin today.

It was pointed out with satisfaction during the meeting that the delegation is visiting as part of an understanding on film exchanges, for which a non-governmental and non-commercial organization called the American-Soviet Film Initiative has been set up.

Demichev expressed support for its noble goals of overcoming political prejudice and hostility towards other peoples and affirming a new mode of thinking in relations between the Soviet and U.S. motion picture industries.

China

PRC Union Officials Meet Shalayev, Depart

PM2707145388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Visit Over"]

[Text] The delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by its secretary Wang Xun, and which was in the USSR 11-25 July at the invitation of the AUCCTU, was received in the Palace of Labor by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev. During their conversation, which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere, the sides exchanged experience and opinions on questions of further improving the activity of trade unions during the contemporary stage of restructuring society and during the economic reform being carried out in the USSR and the PRC. They also discussed ways of developing and improving cooperation between Soviet and Chinese trade unions. S.A. Shalayev conveyed an invitation to Ni Zhifu, chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, to visit the Soviet Union as head of a Chinese trade union delegation at a time convenient for him.

In addition to Moscow, the delegation also visited Leningrad, Riga, and Alma-Ata, as well as industrial and agricultural enterprises, cultural establishments, historical and revolutionary monuments, and trade union sanatoriums. Meetings and conversations were held at AUCCTU departments and with AUCCTU Secretaries V.N. Makeyev and I.Ye. Klochkov; the chairmen of a number of trade union central committees, the leadership of the Leningrad Oblast and Latvian and Kazakh Republic trade union councils; and the working people of enterprises and organizations.

During the meetings, the sides discussed questions concerning enhancing the role of trade unions, particularly primary organizations, speeding up the two countries' social and economic development, and defending the fundamental interests of the working class.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions delegation has now left for home.

Scientific Cooperation With PRC Discussed

OW2707122588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] As you may have learned from our newscasts, the third meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation has concluded in Moscow. Station observer (Kameterev) would now like to discuss the results of this meeting:

The 2-day meeting was presided over by the cochairmen of the committee, Deputy Chairman Yefremov of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and Vice Minister Ruan Chongwu of the Chinese State Science and Technology Commission. The meeting realistically, clearly, and professionally answered questions about how to further strengthen scientific and technological relations between the two countries. It also cited achievements that have been attained, pointed out some possibilities that have not been taken advantage of, and mentioned both sides' desire to expand the basis for cooperation.

Scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries has developed from mutual understanding to the exchange of delegations and direct contacts between ministries and commissions. The second meeting of the Soviet-Chinese committee, which was held in Beijing last November, established a plan for joint scientific and technological research and cooperation in nonferrous metals.

The third meeting of the Soviet-Chinese committee adopted long-term plans for cooperation in 10 fields. These include biochemistry, agriculture, fisheries, soil improvement, water conservancy, machine tool building, chemistry, petroleum machine building, heavy-duty machine building, meteorology, chemical fertilizer production, and petroleum industry. [number of fields as heard] These long-term plans will make it possible to expand cooperation between our two countries to a new level.

In signing the documents of the meeting, Deputy Chairman Yefremov of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology noted: We have agreed on 10 plans for (?large-scale) cooperation between the two countries. This means that a large number of Soviet and Chinese scientists and technicians will work together to carry out concrete tasks in the economic modernization of both countries. We are not satisfied with the achievements we have attained. Also, we are laying a foundation for the future expansion of cooperation between our two countries. To this end, we have agreed to hold USSR Science Day in China in November of this year and to hold Chinese Science Day in the Soviet Union in 1989.

Yefremov stressed: There is tremendous potential for cooperation between our two countries, but this potential has not yet been brought into full play. For example, efforts should be made to strengthen scientific and technological cooperation between regions, as well as between border areas, and also to find new partners for cooperation. All this will produce favorable conditions for solving the economic problems facing the two countries.

Pointing out the importance of developing Soviet-Chinese cooperation in science and technology, Vice Minister Ruan Chongwu of the Chinese State Science and Technology Commission stressed: This is the third meeting we have held. Since our cooperation agreement was signed more than 3 years ago, both sides have done a lot of work and scored a number of achievements. More than 50 delegations of experts have exchanged visits. We have signed a new protocol, and this will make it possible for us to exchange such visits more often. Now Heilongjiang has started regional contacts with the RSFSR. Later, Xinjiang and other parts of our country will also establish contracts with regions of the Soviet Union. If it can be said that mutual understanding is the basis for cooperation, we now have had enough such understanding. There are now prospects for substantive cooperation through contacts between various departments and regions. Our two sides are facing the tasks of reform and economic construction [words indistinct] and our cooperation in science and technology will play an important role in this regard.

Aeronautical Cooperation Noted

OW2707122888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] We will continue to talk about Soviet-Chinese cooperation during this current events program.

It is gratifying to note that there are more and more topics of cooperation between our two countries in various fields for us to talk about. I believe many of our listeners have had the opportunity to travel in Soviet-made aircraft, or aircraft manufactured in China under Soviet license. Today, we have decided to talk about cooperation between the Aeronautics Export Company of the Soviet Foreign Trade Corporation and its Chinese partner. This is appropriate, especially because this company will display its products at three different exhibitions in China before the end of the year. In October, the most modern Soviet air and ground equipment will be shown in Beijing. The Second International Aviation and Astronautics Fair will be held in Shanghai in December. As for the fair's category of aeronautical technology, the Soviet Union will display its latest aircraft, including the heavy-type, wide-body transport aircraft AN-124 Ruslan and the 300-seat IL96-300 airbus. As far as its technological features are concerned, the Ruslan is unmatched in the world. Its newest record is carrying a payload of 171 metric tons to an altitude of 10 km. When the IL96-300 is exhibited in Shanghai, it will be the first time this type of aircraft has ever been publicly displayed outside the Soviet Union. Now we will ask (Roinov), a responsible comrade of the Aeronautics Export Company, to say a few words:

[Begin (Roinov) recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] A large number of Soviet experts will go to China for these exhibitions. They will be prepared to hold discussions on trade and on strengthening contacts with China's aeronautical industry concerning production and technical cooperation. We will also offer specific categories of products for sale in China.

It should be noted that contacts between aeronautical manufacturers in our two countries have increased in recent years. We have resumed, to some extent, the kind of contacts we had in the 1950's when the aeronautical manufacturers of our two countries worked together to found China's aeronautics industry. We share a lot in the fields of study and manufacture of aircraft and the application of various technologies. There are now dozens of types of Soviet-made aircraft in use in China. These include, for instance, IL62-M and TU154-M aircraft and the MI-8 helicopter. Active discussions are being held for the purpose of solving an important engineering problem: how to prolong the life of some of the aircraft built by China under Soviet license.

In view of all this, as well as the general trend of improved relations between the Soviet Union and China, we are optimistic about the future prospects of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. [end recording]

Before I finish, I want to add one thing: There will be another exhibition in Beijing in November at which the Soviet Aeronautic Export Company will also take part, the Soviet Science and Technology Fair. As for the products Soviet aeronautical manufacturers plan to display at the fair, we will introduce them to you in a later broadcast.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Official Cited on Korean Unification

PM2707154588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Special correspondent S. Tikhomirov dispatch under the rubric "From the Journalist's Notebook": "A Stork Beside the Antitank Ditch"]

[Excerpt] Kaesong-Pyongyang-Moscow—[Passage omitted] Both Pyongyang and Seoul acknowledge that the Korean question cannot be resolved in one stroke. At the same time, the DPRK sees the presence of the 40,000-plus contingent of U.S. troops stationed south of the 38th parallel as the main obstacle on the path to alleviating tension on the peninsula.

Chon Yon-cha, counsellor at the Secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland, told me in a conversation that over the past few years, the DPRK has submitted approximately 250 proposals on improving the situation on the peninsula and Korean unification. Many of these are well known and have obtained international support.

Certain positive elements have recently emerged as evidence of the galvanization of North-South efforts and the endeavor to develop inter-Korean dialogue by seeking options for compromise. In this connection, let me point out the DPRK's constructive stance, and in particular, Pyongyang's proposal published 22 July following the recent statement by the South Korean president. The proposal contains a call for North-South interparliamentary talks next month.

A month of solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for unification, in the course of which millions of people of good will have stated their support for this legitimate cause, has come to an end. The weighty voice of the Soviet people could also be heard. They were and still are Koreans' true ally in the difficult but just struggle for a united Korean nation.

DPRK War 'Victory' Marked in Pyongyang

PM2707151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Festivities in Pyongyang"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 26 Jul—A ceremonial meeting with the participation of servicemen from the Korean People's Army and the national public was held here today to mark the 35th anniversary of the Korean people's victory in the Fatherland Liberation War (1950-1953).

The war in Korea, which destroyed the peaceful life of socialist building in the DPRK, was described by Army General Choe Kwang, candidate member of the Worker's Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee Politburo and chief of the Korean People's Army General Staff, in his speech as a severe test for the Korean people. It caused incalculable damage and suffering for peaceful Korean citizens. The DPRK is now making efforts to further build socialism and is waging a struggle for peace and Korean unification. The DPRK people, the military chief noted, will continue to strive for the eradication of the threat of war on the Korean peninsula, the removal of U.S. troops and arms from the southern part of the peninsula, and the safeguarding of peace in Asia and around the world.

The ceremonial meeting was attended by the following members of the WPK Central Committee Politburo: Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administration Council; Kim Yong-nam, DPRK foreign minister; and Yi Chong-ok, DPRK vice president.

DPRK Ships To Visit Vladivostok Late Jul

LD2707164988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1612 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jul (TASS)—Agreement has been reached for a detachment of DPRK naval vessels, consisting of a destroyer, two escort vessels, and an auxiliary vessel under the flag of Kim In-chol, commander of the DPRK Navy, to pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet port city of Vladivostok. The visit will last from 29 July to 2 August.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Election of Burma's U Sein Lwin Reported

BK2707150588 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] According to reports from Rangoon, U Sein Lwin, chairman of the Central Committee of the Burma Socialist Program Party, has been elected chairman of the State Council and president of Burma by the extraordinary session of the People's Assembly held in Rangoon. Thura U Tun Tin, former deputy prime minister and minister of finance, was elected prime minister.

The changes in Burma's leadership followed the holding of the extraordinary party congress in Rangoon. U Ne Win, former party chairman, after citing old age, tendered his resignation at the congress. His resignation was accepted. The party congress also endorsed a program of reforms aimed at revitalizing Burma's economy.

Daily Views Cambodian Reconciliation Plans

PM2807090188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Boris Barakhta under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Time Does Not Wait"]

[Text] In the East they say: "You can travel the whole world with the truth, but you can't take a step with falsehood." This folk axiom is graphically confirmed today by the new thinking in international relations which is being implemented by the fraternal socialist countries. Purposeful, sincere efforts aimed at defending peace throughout the world are encountering support and understanding from all people of good will.

All the fraternal countries, irrespective of their size and economic power, are making their contribution to the implementation of socialism's peace-loving policy. The responsibility invested in them by history is frequently equally great. This particularly applies to those states which are at the center of regional conflicts, at the points where different forces of international politics clash. Thus, the consistent peace-loving course, the manifestation of good will, and the tireless quest for mutually acceptable solutions implemented by the PRK are bringing visible results in the form of reducing tensions in one of the most explosive regions of Southeast Asia.

Is it long since the states which had recognized the Phnom Penh government could be counted on the fingers of one hand? The PRK now maintains diplomatic relations and official contacts with dozens of countries. These include, for instance, one of the recognized leaders of the Nonaligned Movement—India.

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the PRK Council of State, recently visited Nicaragua. He is now in Cuba. Both Managua and Havana have expressed support for the active foreign policy line of the Government of People's Cambodia aimed at peacefully solving the "Cambodian problem" and the attainment of a lasting peace in Indochina. Obviously, Phnom Penh's constructive actions are a good example of how the smoldering conflict in Central America should also be extinguished.

As for the "Cambodian problem" itself, it looks that due to the efforts of all interested sides, it is beginning to be resolved not by force but instead at the conference table. The teleprinters have rapped out the promising news that an informal meeting of the four Khmer sides on a political settlement of the Cambodian situation opened yesterday in the resort town of Bogor, near Jakarta. This is a long awaited, important event for the fate of the peoples not only of Southeast Asia but also of the whole world.

Under the accord reached last year in Ho Chi Minh [City] between the foreign ministers of Vietnam and Indonesia, the present meeting will take place in two stages. In the first stage, the Cambodian sides exchange opinions on domestic issues. In the second, interested states—Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, and other ASEAN countries—will discuss the international aspects of the problem together with PRK representatives.

To all appearances, the portfolio of the representatives of People's Cambodia is full of proposals for compromise. Thus, in Bogor, Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers, offered a peace settlement program for the attention of the meeting's participants. The seven-point document provides for the creation of a national conciliation council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, with the participation of representatives of the four Cambodian sides; the holding of general elections to the National Assembly; the adoption of a new constitution; and the formation of a coalition government. It also proposes creating an international commission to observe the implementation of the accords which have been achieved. It additionally proposes the holding of an international conference with the participation of the PRK, the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the ASEAN countries, the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, the permanent members of the UN Security Council, the UN secretary general, and the states which are making a contribution to consolidating peace in Southeast Asia, with a view to guaranteeing Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, and neutrality as a nonaligned state. It is planned to complete the withdrawal of the remaining Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia by the end of 1989 or at the very latest the first quarter of 1990 while simultaneously ending foreign interference in the Republic's internal affairs. This would include ending foreign aid to the Pol Pot supporters and other factions of the Khmer opposition and ceasing to use bases and refuges outside Cambodia. The PRK's internal problems should be resolved by the Cambodian sides themselves on the basis of national conciliation and the elimination of the Pol Pot armed formations.

Well, the PRK's position is honest and open. It is now up to the other side, for time does not wait.

Laos Submits Proposal on Cambodian Settlement

LD2707131788 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Vientiane July 27 TASS—A delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has tabled its proposals on a political settlement around Kampuchea and the strengthening of peace and stability in Southeast Asia at the current unofficial meeting on Kampuchea in Bogor, Indonesia.

The initiatives, including seven items, were published by the newspaper PASASON, the organ of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) and the Laotian Government.

The Laotian side suggested that Southeast Asia be converted to a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality, friendship and cooperation, and be cleared from nuclear weapons.

Laos urged the Southeast Asian countries to respect each others' independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to choose a political system. It also called for abandoning aggressions and interference in internal affairs, the use of force or threats to use it, as well as for ensuring friendly and equal relations and cooperation on a long-term basis.

Laos came against the creation and membership of any military alliances, the granting of territories to other countries for military purposes and the use of foreign territories for confrontation with other countries.

All conflicts and contradictions should be solved by peaceful means in accordance with the U.N. Charter and on the basis of equality, friendship, respect for each others' interests and equal mutual security, the Laotian side said.

Laos believes that the expansion of an all-round economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation, as well as broader information, sport and tourist exchanges are important preconditions for strengthening peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The countries of the Mekong River are called upon to cooperate in developing natural resources.

The Laotian side emphasized the need to hold consultations between the countries of the region and summits if there is such a need. It also suggested that special meetings be convened at the foreign ministers' level in the event of emergency.

The countries of the region, the Laotian statement says, are ready to cooperate with countries situated beyond the region's boundaries, as well as international organisations and receive their aid, ruling out slavery terms. Laos has urged other countries to abandon interference in the internal affairs of the Southeast Asian states and resolve all disputes exclusively by peaceful means.

Laos addressed the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and other countries concerned with a request to guarantee the implementation of all the above-mentioned principles.

Kaysone Phomvihan Arrives for 'Rest' 27 Jul

LD2707173288 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, arrived in the Soviet Union for rest at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee today.

Breakdown in Philippine-U.S. Talks Reported

PM2707125388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Trading Broken Off"]

[Text] Manila, 26 Jul—Philippine representatives have indefinitely broken off talks with the United States on the terms for the presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, official spokesmen for that country's government announced today. "As a result of serious differences regarding the sum of compensation, the Philippine side has submitted a proposal for a break in the talks," the joint statement from those taking part says.

Juanita Amatong, a member of the Philippine delegation to the talks, announced during a talk with journalists that Manila had demanded that the United States pay at least $1 billion for the right to use military establishments on Philippine soil until 1991, when the present U.S.-Philippine agreement on bases is to expire. Meanwhile, she stressed, the sum proposed by Washington was far less than this figure. The talks will be resumed only after the U.S. side has put forward more acceptable proposals, the Philippine figure noted.

Near East & South Asia

Egypt's Ghali Arrives for Visit, Praises Ties

Marks Egypt's Revolution Day

LD2207210088 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt and chairman of the board of the Soviet-Egyptian Friendship Society, has come out for a further development of Soviet-Egyptian relations in various spheres. He came to the USSR at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the USSR-Egypt Friendship Society for attending the social functions devoted to the national holiday of the Egyptian people, the day of the revolution.

Butrus Ghali said that the perestroyka processes now under way in this country promoted the rejuvenation of Soviet-Egyptian relations. Their further development requires, in the first place, the regular holding of political consultations. There is much in common in the stands of the two countries on various international problems, and he believes that their consultations will promote the solution of the problems facing the world community.

Butrus Ghali pointed out further that the Soviet Union had made a substantial contribution to the development of Egyptian economy. In his opinion, the two countries have all the opportunities for raising their economic cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

The Egyptian representative pointed out the need for convening an international conference on the Middle East as soon as possible in which all the parties concerned would take part. He said that history showed that many resolutions on the Middle East had been adopted only when both great powers had voted for it. This is why, when we talk about an international conference we mean that both the USSR and the U.S. should take part in it without fail, he said.

Embassy Holds Reception

PM2607092788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 21 July S.H. Basyuni, Egyptian ambassador to the Soviet Union, arranged a reception to celebrate the Egyptian national holiday of Revolution Day.

It was attended by V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

Egyptian Envoy Speaks

LD2307222088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speech by Salah Hasan Basyuni, Egyptian ambassador to Moscow, on the occasion of Egypt's Revolution Day; place not given—recorded; Basyuni speaks in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Molchanov] The Egyptian people are marking the date of a turning point in their history: Exactly 36 years ago, in 1952, the Egyptian Army led by the Free Officers Organization rose against the monarchical regime. The July revolution took place. Taking part in our program today is Salah Hasan Basyuni, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt in the USSR:

[Basyuni] Dear friends, this is the fourth time since I arrived in your great friendly country that I speak to you on the occasion of the great Egyptian revolution, 23 July 1952. I have told you before about this revolution, which changed the balance of forces in the Near East region and had a great influence on Egypt, where it laid a real basis for justice and social equality; on the Arab world, where it awoke political consciousness; and on Third World countries, which contributed to the formation of the Nonaligned Movement, which struggles for progress, development, liberation from colonialism, and peace and security throughout the world.

The late Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the leader of our revolution, put forward a comprehensive social, economic, political, and ideological platform for Egypt, the Arab states, and the Third World countries, which inevitably attracted a struggle between the forces of liberation and those of colonialism.

Dear friends, the 36th anniversary of the Egyptian revolution, which we mark today, coincides with the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union. In this connection, I want to note the close link between our revolution and the development of relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union, which constantly supports the rights of peoples to liberation, progress, and development. The new Soviet political way of thinking, which is an inalienable part of the policy of restructuring being carried out under the leadership of Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has opened up the path to expanding mutual comprehension between our countries, which is in accordance with the aims of the policy of President Mubarak. Egypt's position on the question of settling the Near East problems coincides with the Soviet point of view.

Our countries are in favor of convening an effective international conference, with the participation of the five great powers who are permanent members of the UN Security Council; the interested parties concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict; and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Recently there has been an exchange of high-level political visits between our countries. This year we are opening a new page in the history of Egyptian-Soviet relations. The people of Egypt, devoted to the ideals of faith and truth, recall all that the Soviet Union has given to Egypt. We believe that the peoples of the Soviet Union highly appreciate their friendship with Egypt, and we wish it further development.

Dear friends, we greet you warmly on the occasion of Egypt's Revolution Day. Long live Egyptian-Soviet friendship! Thank you for your attention.

[Molchanov] That was Salah Hasan Basyuni, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Telegrams Exchanged

LD2307142088 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow Jul 23 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has sent a telegramme to the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Husni Mubarak, expressing congratulations and best wishes to the Egyptian president and the Egyptian people on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the July 1952 revolution. The telegramme runs, in part: "The recent level of Soviet-Egyptian relations gives grounds to hope that diversified cooperation between our countries, their interaction on the international scene will continue to develop in the interests of Soviet and Egyptian people, in the name of the attainment of a lasting peace and security."

In the reply telegramme, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak expresses gratitude for the congratulations and reaffirms that the level, reached in Egyptian-Soviet relations at present, is the result of joint efforts and constant consultations between the two countries. It meets the interests of the two friendly peoples, serves the course of international security and peace. A hope is expressed that Soviet-Egyptian relations will continue to invariably extend and develop.

Ghali Meets With Vinogradov

LD2507201088 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Vladimir Vinogradov, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, chairman of the board of the USSR-ARE society, received the visiting minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt (ARE), Butrus Ghali, chairman of the board of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society, here today.

It was pointed out with satisfaction that positive changes in Soviet-Egyptian relations in recent years stimulated the activities of friendship societies in the two countries and the development of versatile contacts.

'Thaw' in Relations Noted

PM2607102988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 3

[G. Musaelyan article: "Wind of Change Over the Pyramids"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The "thaw" that took shape in the first half of the eighties in Soviet-Egyptian political relations began to have a favorable effect right away on the state of trade and economic cooperation between our country and Egypt. In 1981 a barter agreement was signed between the "Unimeg" consortium of private Egyptian firms and the Soviet side. This was later followed by the conclusion of a comparable document for the period 1986-1990. The Soviet Union and Egypt resumed the practice of signing annual protocols on reciprocal supplies of goods. These and other measures laid a good foundation for the development of bilateral trade in the future. Trade turnover between the two countries has increased from R383.7 million in 1980 to R592.2 million in 1987. Deliveries of Soviet output to the Egyptian market and purchases of Egyptian goods have increased during this time from R172.7 million to R295.7 million and from R211 million to R296.5 million, respectively.

Visits to our country by 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, in May, and by a delegation from the Egyptian People's Assembly headed by its president, Rif'at al-Mahjub, this week have given a a new boost to bilateral cooperation. An agreement was signed on economic, trade, and scientific and technical cooperation which, in the opinion of the participants in the talks, coincides with an important phase in the economic development of both countries and reveals broad prospects for mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation. There are plans to implement common projects and create joint enterprises.

In connection with the talks that have taken place, Egypt's EGYPTIAN GAZETTE wrote: "After many years of diplomatic coolness in USSR-Egyptian relations, a time of thaw has set in, now that both sides acknowledge the exceptional importance of maintaining good working relations."

...In conversations with inhabitants of Cairo, a city that I have had occasion to visit, I have sensed all the time the profound amicability that was always typical of relations between Egyptians and Soviet people. People there have not forgotten all the good and useful features that characterized Soviet-Egyptian relations after the July revolution.

Moscow Soiree Marks Holiday

LD2707081488 Moscow TASS in English 0636 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—The importance of developing the relations between the USSR and the Arab Republic of Egypt in different spheres—political, economic, cultural and through public organisations was stressed by speakers at the soiree of the Soviet-Egyptian friendship. The soiree was held in Moscow to mark the Revolution Day, a national holiday of Egypt. The soiree was attended by a delegation of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society, led by Butrus Ghali, the society's chairman of the board who is Egypt's state minister for foreign affairs.

Najibullah Insists Kabul Will 'Hold Out'

PM2707151788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Jul 8 p 3

["Afghan Diary" report by special correspondent B. Leonov: "'We Are Tired of Waiting for Peace....'"]

[Excerpt] Kabul-Moscow—[passage omitted] The following question arose very often in conversations with Afghans, Soviet specialists, and journalists in Afghanistan: "What will happen in the country when the Soviet troops go home?" The situation in the republic is very tense. A considerable section of the armed opposition completely rejects the Geneva agreements and threatens to annihiliate thousands of "black-listed" supporters of the revolution. Pakistan, which also signed the Geneva agreements, is overtly in breach of them. Its leadership openly supports the so-called "provisional government," composed of intransigent extremists. There is information to the effect that Pakistanis are directly involved in combat operations against the Afghan Army. But in the 2 months since the withdrawal of Soviet troops began the "mujahidin" have not taken a single city. The People's Army possesses indisputable superiority in terms of both the number of fighters and the quality of arms.

"How realistic is the program of national reconciliation you propose? What can be said about the first results of its implementation and the main obstacles to it?" were questions your TRUD correspondent put to President Najibullah at a news conference held for foreign journalists.

"The policy is a realistic one," Comrade Najibullah answered. "It determines the solution of the question in and around Afghanistan. The main outcome, the main result, is that it is supported by the Afghan people. It has met with a positive response from a considerable section of the armed opposition. In just 1 year several hundred of its formations, numbering more than 50,000 men, have laid down their arms. The number of refugees who have returned or are in the process of returning home has risen sharply in the past year. For complete success we need peace and we need time."

The president also said that the enemies of the people are insisting on waging a "holy war" and are urging Afghans to die, swelling their own bank accounts in the process. The government has already begun answering the question "Will Kabul hold out and the existing government remain?" by its announcement of the policy of national reconciliation. We will hold out because we favor peace, Najibullah stressed, and peace is the Afghan people's desire.

To this end the Afghan leadership elected by the people is operating boldly, flexibly, and realistically. To this end it is embarking on compromise, throwing the doors of the coalition government open wide to all Afghan political forces, including former King Zahir Shah and the leaders of the armed opposition, offering one of them the post of deputy prime minister.

Pol-e Charki prison, located on the outskirts of Kabul, is evidence of such a bold compromise. It was built back in the years of the monarchy and was intended to hold 14,000 prisoners. We drove past its tall, thick fortress walls, past a tank dug in hard by a tower, entered the prison courtyard escorted by security Commandant Zabet, and saw a large number of empty cells, each of which had previously held up to 150 people. Pol-e Charki now accommodates 1,477 prisoners, for the most part former members of extremist armed formations.

The rest, numbering several thousand, were amnestied by presidential decree and released on their word of honor that they would no longer use weapons against the people or the authorities.

The amnesty also affected those who remained in the cells and who had committed acts of arson, terrorism, and murder—it was found possible to commute the death penalty for many of them to 20 years' imprisonment. Most of those there are in that category. These include 33-year-old Haji Allah Muhammad. He is a peasant from Kabul Province. His family of eight—father, mother, brothers and nephews—have their own land. Haji himself only managed to provide himself with a wife. After living with her for 6 months, he went to Pakistan. Why? He was told that the revolution would destroy Islam and that an "infidel" state would be set up.

In a camp in Pakistan he was issued with a weapon and instructed to kill PDPA members and school principals and to sow alarm among the people. The ultimate aim of this operation was to "seize the throne," that is, to help those who were supplying the arms to seize power. Who are they actually? Karabakh-Vakhil, Mukhalyar-Vigel, and his son, Khavari [names as published], supplied the weapons.

Haji Allah Muhammad was "commander of a group of 50 men." He spoke calmly about how they had burned down two schools in Shakar Darreh district. He had killed three people. He even remembered the names of two of them—peasants from the settlement of Bezati. He did not know the name of the third victim. She was an old woman who went from settlement to settlement. The bandits decided that she either was betraying them or might do so....

And what did this work "pay"? They received no money from Pakistan, only weapons and munitions. But they did obtain money themselves. They found out who received the proceeds from the crop sold in a settlement and "fined" him. They also robbed vehicles carrying foodstuffs and industrial goods. They sold the booty, sending to Pakistan those goods that fetch a better price there. And without fail they would send each month 1-2 million afghanis out of their "proceeds" to Khavari. His group feared to join battle with them. I heard about Soviet soldiers, including some prisoners. But "what you hear is not what you see," he concluded. He added:

"I heard that the authorities were persecuting believers and destroying mosques, but saw that they were building them. When my father visited me in prison, he said that their land had not been seized. Our family is in favor of national reconciliation. I have come to understand that the policy benefits the ordinary people."

We conducted our discussion in the presence of the commandant and other guards. The prisoner most likely did not say everything that he thought. How can you grasp the thoughts that run through the mind of this man, his shock of hair still untouched by gray, and what kind of ideas can you read in eyes which stubbornly avoid your gaze? One thing is clear: He is himself a victim of the bloody turmoil which he helped to make, a victim of tragic circumstances coiled into a tight knot, drenched in blood and tears. But this knot has to be untied, using our fingers, even if we break our nails in the process, or using our teeth. It must be done. And no one but the Afghans themselves will do this. It is important that no one hinders them.

Afghan Situation, Events Updated 27 Jul

LD2707134788 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 27 TASS—In the last days of the Muslim holiday, 'Id al-Adha, members of the opposition armed groups met with their families in the cities of Provinces Jowzjan, Herat, Takhar and Faryab. More than 1,500 opponents took advantage of the Afghan president's permission to pay visits to provincial centres. Representatives of the rebels were received by governors and other representatives of provincial authorities. During the meetings they gave explanations on the republic's domestic and foreign policy issues.

The same tasks were set before the peace convoy of the Afghan Army, which arrived in villages Navabad [as received] and Deh Khodaydad in Kabul Province. After the rally, at which peasants received true information about national reconciliation policy and implementation of the Geneva accords, essential goods were distributed. The villagers were handed out food, clothes, various industrial goods and farm implements, which were sent from the USSR in gratuitous aid to the Afghan people.

The Afghan Armed Forces, BAKHTAR news agency reports, delivered a strike at the extremist groups which tried to attack army positions near Maydan Shahr, Vardak Province. The rebels retreated leaving behind 60 people killed and a large amount of arms.

Concentration of antigovernment groups near the Afghan border is continuing. According to information reaching here, opposition groups, based earlier in training camps Afghankolun, Saiaf, Bande and Badabera [names as received] in Pakistan, moved to the Teri Mangal [name as received] camp. In reply to the demands of U.N. representatives to stop using this base on Pakistani territory, which runs counter to the Geneva accords, leaders of the Alliance of Seven alleged Teri Mangal was located near the border and did not come under the Geneva agreements.

In some regions of northern Afghanistan rebels, supported by foreign experts, organised mining and transportation abroad of uranium ore. In this context, information which came from Faryab Province seems interesting. Amer Akbar [name as received], leader of one of the groups of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, told the inhabitants of villages in Hoja Ghar [name as received] area, controlled by him, that he removed all foreigners from the uranium ore zone and suspended operation of the mines because uranium ore was supplied to Muslim enemies in Israel.

More on Uranium, Pakistani Aid to 'Extremists'

PM2607132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Editorial telephone interview with special correspondent Boris Kotov under the rubric "Call from the Editorial Bureau" and the general heading "Hello, What's New?": "Kabul"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] We were answered by Boris Kotov, our special correspondent in Kabul:

[Kotov] This news has already flashed around the world: Uranium ore is being secretly smuggled out of Afghanistan to Pakistan. As became known here the other day, some time ago foreign specialists found deposits of uranium in Darzab District, Jowzjan Province, in an area controlled by armed opposition forces. They immediately started working them. And now the uranium ore is being shipped to Pakistan (and partially to Iran) by pack animals along secret trails.

This news throws additional light on the reasons why Pakistan is stubbornly sabotaging the fulfillment of its obligations under the Geneva accords. A peaceful settlement of the situation in and around Afghanistan not only threatens to deprive Islamabad of a substantial amount of U.S. military and other aid, but also, it turns out, does not match its nuclear ambitions.

The Afghan uranium would be very handy for the Pakistani nuclear bomb that has long been under development. Only how can Pakistan acquire it? That is why, as if to order, Islamabad's Peshawar puppets from the "Alliance of Seven" have been producing insane plans to "overthrow" the Kabul regime, "destroy" the Afghan-Pakistani border, create a "federation," and virtually "merge" the two states.

[PRAVDA] There has been a report in the press that a certain positive evolution is allegedly taking place in the Pakistani authorities' stance, particularly over the question of the return home of Afghan refugees. What can you say about that?

[Kotov] Some promises have indeed been made. But will they be carried out? They were made under the strongest pressure from the Afghan refugees themselves, among whom there is growing alarm and an increasing demand to remove the obstacles and let them return home. Thus, the other day a jirgah (assembly) of a number of Pushtun tribes was held at the Surkhab [name as published] refugee camp near the Pakistani-Afghan border. Around 500 leaders and distinguished Pushtun citizens took part in it. They condemned the actions of the intransigent opposition and supported the national reconciliation policy.

But on the whole no positive shifts on the part of Islamabad are actually evident as yet. Rather, the contrary is the case: Interference is being stepped up. Here are just a few cases from recent days. In the region of Chaman (Pakistan) the Pakistani authorities handed over 60 vehicles with weapons and ammunition to representatives of the "Alliance of Seven." A large batch of weapons was transferred from Parachinar (Kurram Agency, Pakistan) for detachments of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" operating in the Afghan province of Parvan. And a large detachment of extremists from the same political grouping have arrived in Paghman District, Kabul Province, aboard 20 trucks from Pakistan. They have brought with them a consignment of weapons, munitions, and 400 kg of explosives.

Iraqi Attitudes, Measures for War Described

PM2807093988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 3

[First part of special correspondent P. Vedenyapin report under the rubric "From a Journalist's Notebook": "Years in Fire"]

[Excerpts] Baghdad-Moscow—We were flying to Baghdad—a group of Soviet journalists had been invited to Iraq by the Ministry of Culture and Information. The number of foreigners on board the Iraq Airways aircraft was quite small—the Iran-Iraq war, which has now been continuing for almost 8 years, has caused international exchange to be modified too. No, Iraq has not closed its doors to foreign guests. The tourist companies simply prefer to shift tour itineraries away from a state at war....

Signs that this is just what Iraq is were already apparent at Moscow's international airport. After customs and passport control a new inspection awaited us at the entrance to the aircraft; no less and perhaps even more rigorous than the preceding one. Two men dressed as stewards of the Iraqi airline asked us to open our hand baggage. Each item was inspected quickly but, at the same time, carefully. The batteries were removed from my dictaphone. "You will get them back in Baghdad. Any objections?" I did not object. Iraq is in a state of war, and batteries, it was later explained to us, can be used as a power source to activate an explosive device. This is a precautionary measure against possible terrorist acts on board the aircraft. [passage omitted]

There are few military people in the streets of Baghdad, and you seldom encounter war invalids—that bitter token of any war. In the Iraqi capital you are reminded of the fact that people are dying at the front only by the black lengths of cloth on the walls of houses where the families of the dead live.... Another attribute of wartime—it is not recommended to take photographs in the city without an accompanying representative of the Ministry of Culture and Information. If such a person is not with you at the time, it is better to ask the nearest policeman for permission to take a photograph. [passage omitted]

People who were here 10 years ago, say, would not recognize Baghdad today. Paradoxical though it may seem, the city has been practically entirely reconstructed during the war years. This has cost a lot of money, but the continuous renewal of Baghdad was probably meant to symbolize that the country has not only military cares in its life. It was with this that our conversation with Hamid Sa'id, chief editor of the local newspaper AL-THAWRAH, began.

"The Baghdad development plan existed even before the war, but, as you will understand, the war has necessitated modifications and has had a negative effect on not only the capital but also the whole country," our interlocutor said. "We always said and say now that we do not want war. But it is continuing. Despite this, however, we must think about peace without halting our development. Therefore we have simultaneously to defend and build our motherland. This year, for example, a plan of transformations in Iraqi provinces was adopted to reduce the discrepancy in development between the capital and the periphery. This discrepancy is natural. We are still waging a war, and in any country, moreover, chief attention is always devoted to the capital.... You ask why ancient Baghdad has not been preserved? There are several reasons for this. One is the so-called 'clay civilization' characteristic of Iraq. Clay has always been used for building in these parts, and, alas, it has a short life. In the city of Al-Mawsil, situated in the north, for example, many ancient buildings have been preserved because they were built of stone. The second reason is that prior to the 1950's insufficient attention was devoted to Baghdad. The British were in charge here, and before them the Turkish invaders, who had no time for preserving antiquities."

We were drinking very strong Arabian coffee—murr—and having a leisurely conversation which, like all conversations here, inevitably came around to the most pressing topic: the war.

"We have long believed that the war is over," Hamid Sa'id suddenly said and, noticing the journalists' surprise, explained: "This does not mean that the battles are over. But the Iranian side will no longer be able to achieve its strategic goals of capturing Iraqi territory and imposing a political choice alien to the Iraqi people. Therefore the war was over for us when we nullified those expansionist plans by our successes at the front. Of course, combat operations are continuing, and no one will be able to define when they will end. We proceed from the premise that the Iranian soldier is a human being too. And when someone is faced with a choice—war or peace—sooner or later he must plump for peace. In conversations with prisoners of war I have repeatedly found confirmation that ordinary Iranians want peace. The Iranians too are tired of the war...."

"What goals does Iraq pursue in this war?"

"Appearing on television recently, President Saddam Husayn declared that our goal is the liberation of captured Iraqi lands. The commander of each subunit at the front has the sole task of liberating Iraqi territory. And no more. We strive only for peace. We support UN Security Council Resolution 598, adopted in July of last year. That resolution contains appeals to Iran and Iraq to cease hostilities, withdraw troops to internationally recognized borders, release and repatriate prisoners of war...."

While we were in Baghdad, the Iranian leadership had not yet defined its attitude toward Resolution 598. A few days after our return to Moscow the teletype machines of world news agencies reported: "Iran, like Iraq previously, has recognized Resolution 598." A real opportunity had emerged to cease hostilities and end the protracted war. Good news.

"Mr Hamid, the war brings considerable difficulties to the Iraqi people. What does your newspaper write about this?"

"Our people are patiently bearing the burdens of war. Of course, economic difficulties exist. But they are not so great. In Iraq, for example, there is no problem of a shortage of essential foodstuffs. Moreover, growth in agricultural production is now to be observed for the first time in many years. Industry is not slackening its pace either, despite the fact that just one-fourth of the prewar cadre strength is now working in many enterprises."

"What is the government doing to ease the life of families of the dead and of war invalids?"

"Many laws and resolutions have been adopted in this regard in Iraq. We believe that someone who has died at the front remains in commission. Therefore widows and orphans receive the dead man's pay that he got prior to mobilization. These benefits apply not only to families of the dead but also to invalids, as well as those captured. And, equally, to those who continue fighting at the front. One of AL-THAWRAH's editors, for example, has been mobilized into the army in the field. He keeps his newspaper wage, and his army pay is paid out too. Families of the dead are provided with a free car, a one-shot allowance is paid, and a pension is provided for the children. Special attention is devoted to the fate of invalids. They are allocated modern apartments, and sports clubs and rehabilitation centers have been constructed for invalids. Under the existing statute a permanent nurse is assigned to invalids of the first group. And if the wife or some female relative of an invalid performs this work, the government pays the woman an appropriate wage."

"The war has been going on for many years. How has it affected you personally?"

"I have become more patient and more gentle in relations with my family and friends. When I lack something, I think about the ordinary Iraqi soldier who has already spent long years at the front and about those who have fallen in the war. And then all my problems strike me as petty and paltry."

It is a serious test of any state's strength to wage such a long war, of the strength of its economy and political system and of the nation's unity. Iraq, for which, in the opinion of Western observers, the war costs an average of 1 billion dollars a month, knows about this firsthand. The protracted military confrontation has demanded the maximum exertion of the country's military and economic efforts. And at just this time the Iraqi Government is implementing very major measures to reorganize the economy and introduce administrative-economic reform. This has been done to enhance efficiency of production, which has to bear a double load, both for the needs of war and for the no less important needs of peace. Work began in Iraq in 1987-1988 on concentrating all of industry and material resources. [passage omitted]

Of course, a country at war needs not just currency but devoted, vigorous cadres of economic planners and administrators. Every minister in Iraq undergoes certification to prove his ability to lead. The average age of the managerial apparatus has been lowered. Bribe-taking by state officials is punished severely, even by the death penalty. We were told that a sanitary inspector in a district of Baghdad was dismissed on a pension of the lowest category with wording that seems amazing to us—for negligence....

Iran's Tudeh Party Leader on Ending War

NC2507104188 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Remarks by 'Ali Khavari, first secretary of the Iranian Tudeh Party; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] Recently everyone everywhere has been talking about the cable that the foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran sent to the UN secretary general, accepting UN Security Council Resolution 598. The implications of this acceptance are not yet clear to anyone but the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, one thing is definite—8 years of killing, destruction, and squandering the national wealth of the peoples of the two neighboring countries, during a meaningless and idiotic war fomented by imperialism and Zionism, have made the knife used by those who, until yesterday, spoke of "War, war until victory," reach the bone. This knife would cut if it could and it will cut if it can.

It was the great determination of the working masses and the people throughout our homeland and the desire of the world's peace-seeking nations and countries to end the war that brought this day close.

When the Tudeh Party of Iran—after Khorramshahr had been regained—spoke about peace and a peaceful solution of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the party was accused of following policies that were not national in character; it was also accused of treason. When the party made repeated calls for peace throughout these years, it was portrayed as pursuing the policy of the Soviet Union.

Even though these tattered accusations no longer fool anyone, the people of our homeland still have the right to ask: Whose objectives did it serve when hundreds of thousands were sacrificed, hundreds of billions of damages [currency not specified] were caused, and (?so many) tears and so much blood were shed after Khorramshahr was regained?

Our nation is alive and sees what has happened to it throughout these years. It understands. It will judge and it will decide. We do not doubt this. Since these sensitive moments are extremely important for the afflicted people of our homeland, it is extremely important to pay attention to what was stated in the Tudeh Party Central Committee's statement of 27 Tir [18 July]. There is a long way to go from the acceptance of UN Security Council Resolution 598 to the implementation of a peace agreement and the establishment of security throughout the country. Therefore, the struggle for freedom and peace must continue without interruption. Have the leaders of the regime not repeatedly announced their readiness to continue the war until the last drop of our compatriots' blood is shed? (?This growing opposition) [words indistinct] of the homeland's [word indistinct] masses to the war and those who are operating this war is moving to (?block) the maniacal path of killing and destruction. This sacred (?rage) will intensify until the final victory of the angel of freedom and peace over the demon of war and oppression. The people of our homeland have once again understood the miraculous strength of their determination and the immense history-making power of this strength.

How beautiful and moving was the slogan that "we will miss our martyrs in the spring of freedom" that our compatriots raised in the first months after the victory over the monarchy.

Although today our people are living in the clutches of oppression and under medieval conditions with no trace of freedom, nevertheless, with the approach of the [word indistinct] of peace, our combatant people should remember the tens of thousands of its brave and selfless children who struggled, were martyred, and were thrown into the regime's dungeons for the sake of peace and freedom. (?Let us all shout) with a loud voice (?what we shouted during) the history-making days of the first months after the revolution: The political prisoners should be released. These prisoners are people who wanted and want nothing but the happiness of the people and nothing but peace and freedom for mankind. We should (?strongly demand) that the Islamic Republic's regime unconditionally release the heroic children of the people who (?have been cast in dungeons) for years on charges of wanting freedom and peace, and who have sacrificed their youth and (?health) for the sake of freedom and peace for our compatriots, (?in the same way) that we demand peace. The dear children of the people should return to their families, both from the destructive fronts of the war and from the dungeons of the regime's prisons. This is what the people of our homeland demand. The warships of the United States and its allies which (?were sent) to the Persian Gulf to exploit the (?conflict) between the two countries and (?with hegemonistic objectives) should leave the Persian Gulf immediately.

The Central Committee of the Iranian Tudeh Party warns that this is only the beginning, and the struggle should continue with ever-increasing intensity.

Cultural Agreement With YAR Signed 22 Jul

PM2707134788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The program for cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and the Yemen Arab Republic for 1988-1990 was signed at the USSR Foreign Ministry 22 July.

The program was signed by V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Muhammad al-Shami, Yemeni deputy education minister.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Reportage on Ethiopia's Mengistu Moscow Visit

Received by Gorbachev

LD2607142288 Moscow World Service in English
1400 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Excerpt] There has been a meeting in Moscow between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and the Ethiopian leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam, who is in the USSR on a short working visit. The program of the visit also includes talks with the Soviet premier, Nikolay Ryzhkov, and a meeting with Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov. [passage omitted]

Confers in Kremlin

PM2707124588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and Mengistu Haile Mariam"]

[Text] General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev met with Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and Ethiopian president, in the Kremlin on 26 July.

Warmly greeting the leader of friendly Ethiopia, Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union attached much importance to relations with that country and appreciated regular contacts with the Ethiopian leadership, with Comrade Mengistu.

The choice of the Ethiopian people is close to us, we identify with its efforts to overcome difficulties cropping up at the current, crucial stage in the country's development.

The sides had a comradely exchange of views, in the spirit of amicability and mutual respect, on a wide range of issues related to the two countries' internal development and the situation in Africa and the whole world.

Gorbachev spoke about plans to implement the decisions of the 19th Soviet Communist Party conference and preparations for a forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee which is to translate into concrete practical measures the conference's political directives. Mengistu Haile Mariam stressed the great international significance of the perestroyka drive and the close relationship of processes going on in the Soviet Union with the strengthening of peace and peoples' security, with the establishment of the principles of new political mentality in international relations.

The Ethiopian leader spoke about the situation in the country and efforts by the party and the government to overcome the consequences of the severe drought and implement tasks of social, economic, and state development, stemming from the country's constitution, adopted by the people's referendum, and decisions of the National Assembly.

Mengistu Haile Mariam told about the difficulties they encountered on this way, about a tense situation formed in the north of Ethiopia following the activization in the province of Eritrea of the forces that are waging an armed struggle against the central government under separatist and nationalist slogans. He pointed out the growing support for those forces on the part of the international reactionary circles trying to deal a blow at the gains of the Ethiopian people and to impair the progressive social system of Ethiopia.

Gorbachev reiterated a firm and principled stand of the Soviet Union in support for the unity and territorial integrity of Ethiopia and wished success to the Ethiopian leaders in their quest for a just solution of the Eritrea problem within the framework of the multinational Ethiopian state. He pointed out the importance of the fact that the world community supported the preservation of the territorial integrity of Ethiopia.

During the discussion of problems in the Horn of Africa, Gorbachev and Mengistu Haile Mariam mentioned the need for stepping up political efforts with a view to establishing in that region an atmosphere of peace and good-neighborliness. Gorbachev welcomed the agreements on the normalization of relations reached by Ethiopia and Somalia and spoke out in favur of their consolidation and further development for the benefit of peoples of the two countries.

He said that the Soviet Union was ready to promote in every way the attaining of progress in the Ethiopian-Sudanese dialogue for the purpose of establishing relations of trust and mutual understanding between those two neighboring countries. We are positive that the stabilization of the situation in the Horn of Africa can be ensured if the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, are taken as a basis of relations between countries of the region. The quest for the solution of problems by political means on the basis of those principles is gaining momentum in various regions of the world.

An exchange of opinions on other problems of world politics demonstrated the concurrence of views of the leaders of the two countries.

Mengistu Haile Mariam greeted the results of the Soviet-American summit in Moscow and spoke highly of the Soviet Union's efforts to affirm in international relations the principles of cooperation—rather than confrontation—and of disarmament for greater security and development.

Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the development of Soviet-Ethiopian relations on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation. Mikhail Gorbachev and Mengistu Haile Mariam advocated a joint quest for new and more effective forms of cooperation in various areas with account taken of the long-term development plans of the USSR and Ethiopia.

Due attention was paid to developing and upgrading interparty ties. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the idea that in the process of perestroyka the CPSU is getting rid of functions that are not intrinsic to it and its role as the political vanguard of Soviet society is growing immeasurably.

Mengistu Haile Mariam voiced profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for its disinterested aid in saving the starving population in a number of districts in Ethiopia, which have suffered from drought, and for its contribution to that country's economic development.

Both leaders pointed with content to the high level of Soviet-Ethiopian political cooperation and interaction and stressed an interest in further promoting them in the interest of the two countries.

Taking part in the meeting was Anatoliy Dobrynin, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

More on Gorbachev Meeting

EA2607192388 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam today met and held the first round of private talks with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CPSU. Asefa Seyoum, the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY palace reporter, has telephoned in the following report:

[Begin Seyoum recording] Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam today held exhaustive talks at the Kremlin with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev on ways to enhance bilateral relations within the context of further contributing to the prosperity and peace of their peoples. The two leaders also exchanged views on the current international situation. The USSR affirmed its support for our revolution in the process of construction and in times of crisis, especially since the inception of our revolution. The close relations, talks, and exchanges of experience embarked upon at the head of state and party, and government-official levels are highly regarded.

Within the context of his current fruitful visit to the USSR, Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam also held official talks at the Kremlin today with Comrade Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers. During the talks, which were attended by senior government delegates from the two friendly countries, details of ways in which the two countries could strengthen their cooperation in all spheres were discussed. The two sides made constructive and timely proposals through which it was possible to reach fruitful results. [end recording]

Meets With Ryzhkov

LD2607175288 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today met in the Kremlin with Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE].

During their comradely conversation they exchanged information about political and economic situations in the USSR and the PDRE and about plans and tasks facing their countries at the present stage.

Touching upon the results of the 19th national party conference, Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke in detail of the perestroyka (restructuring) effort in the Soviet Union, which has become a vital cause for the Communists and millions of Soviet people.

He briefed Mengistu Haile Mariam on the program adopted by the conference for continuing to democratize Soviet society, effect political reform, promote openness and combat bureaucratism.

He noted that in the course of radical economic reform the process of putting the Soviet economy right is inextricably connected with the renunciation of the command methods of administration and with a switchover to new forms of economic management. It is very important to find an optimal blend of personal and public interest, make use of the aptitudes of every worker and give scope to personal initiative for the benefit of socialism.

Mengistu Haile Mariam told Nikolay Ryzhkov about the efforts of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the country's government to fulfill the tasks of the National Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia, overcome the grave consequences of a drought and develop the national economy.

He expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for its fraternal aid given not only with coping with the effects of the drought but also with carrying out a food program, developing agriculture, industry and the energy sector and training personnel for the young Republic.

A thorough exchange of opinions took place on the state and further devleopment of bilateral cooperation. The opinion was expressed that in this area, too, it is needed to look for new and more effective forms and methods of economic ties and precisely define priorities in keeping with the pressing tasks and real possibilities of the sides.

In this connection it was found expedient to create joint ventures and buy-back facilities and form direct ties between product makers in the two countries.

The conversation was warm and freindly and passed in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding.

Ryzhkov-Mengistu Talk Reported

PM2707130588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talk With Mengistu Haile Mariam"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met with Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and Ethiopian president, in the Kremlin on 26 July.

During a comradely talk, information was exchanged on the domestic political and economic positions of the USSR and Ethiopia, on development plans, and on the tasks facing the two countries at the present stage.

Touching on the results of the 19th all-union party conference, N.I. Ryzhkov talked in detail about the restructuring that is under way in the Soviet Union and which has become a vital cause for Communists and millions of Soviet people. He described the program adopted by the conference for the further democratization of Soviet society's life, the implementation of the reform of the political system, the expansion of glasnost, and the struggle against bureaucratism.

It was noted that the process of improving the Soviet economy, which was started in the course of implementing the radical economic reform, is indissolubly linked with the rejection of methods of administration-by-edict and the switch to new forms of economic management. It is very important to find the ideal combination of personal and public interests, to fully utilize the abilities of each working person, and to provide scope for personal initiative for the benefit of socialism.

Mengistu Haile Mariam provided information on the efforts of the WPE and the country's government to resolve the tasks of the national democratic revolution in Ethiopia, to overcome the severe consequences of the drought, and to boost and develop the country's economy. He expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for the fraternal assistance which it is providing not only in the struggle against the consequences of the drought, but also in solving the food problem, developing agriculture, industry, and power generation, and training the young Republic's cadres.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions on the state and further development of bilateral cooperation. The opinion was expressed that a quest for new and more effective forms and methods of economic ties and a clear definition of priorities in line with the sides' urgent tasks and real potential are needed. In this regard it was deemed necessary to study the possibility of setting up joint ventures and projects on a barter [kompensatsionnyy] basis, and establishing direct ties between producers in the two countries.

The talk was warm and friendly and was held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding. Taking part in it were, on the Soviet side: V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Ministers K.F. Katushev and Ye.A. Kozlovskiy; and A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister; and on the Ethiopian side: Foreign Minister Berhanu Baye; Deputy Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka; Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the WPE Central Committee; and other officials.

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD2707081088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] A conversation between Comrade Shevardnadze and [Ethiopian President] Mengistu Haile Mariam took place. They compared assessments of the situation in the world and in its individual regions and exchanged views on ways of strengthening interaction in the international arena.

Talks With Yazov, Akhromeyev

LD2707113888 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and defense minister of the USSR, today met with Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

They discussed issues of mutual interest.

Taking part in the meeting were Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed forces and first deputy defense minister of the USSR [words indistinct] Haile Giorgis Habte-Mariam, national defense minister of Ethiopia, Wolde Asrat, Ethiopian ambassador to the USSR, and other Soviet and Ethiopian officials.

More on Yazov Meeting

LD2807005588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Army General Yazov, USSR defense minister, today met with Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Matters of mutual interest were discussed. [video shows medium close-ups of Yazov and Mengistu; Soviet side at table comprises 10 persons including Yazov, Akhromeyev, and Ivanovskiy]

Shevardnadze, Bayeh Talk

PM2707125188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister of the USSR, on 26 July met with Berhanu Bayeh, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) and foreign minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE). Bayeh is in Moscow in connection with a working visit by Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the WPE Central Committee and president of the PDRE.

During their conversation they compared notes on the situation in the world and its individual regions and exchanged opinions on ways of further developing interaction between the two countries on the international scene.

Shevardnadze spoke about the restructuring of the Soviet Union's foreign policy in accordance with new political thinking and about the realization of the decisions of the 19th national party conference towards a turnabout in world affairs from confrontation to dialogue and cooperation, disarmament, and a political settlement of regional conflicts.

Bayeh expressed a high opinion of the USSR's foreign policy and came out in support of Soviet initiatives for creating a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

As the situation in the Horn of Africa was discussed, Bayeh briefed Shevardnadze on efforts made by the Ethiopian Government to normalize relations with Somalia and Sudan and achieve trust and cooperation with the neighboring countries.

The Soviet Union, Shevardnadze declared, is prepared to continue giving every kind of assistance to affirming in that part of Africa as well an atmosphere of peace and good-neighborliness on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in the internal affairs of each other.

Other issues of mutual interest were also considered.

The conversation passed in a businesslike atmosphere which was frank as is usual with comrades, an atmosphere so typical of the friendly Soviet-Ethiopian relationship. Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) Central Committee international department, took part in the conversation.

Dobrynin, Yigletu Meet

LD2707172988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jul (TASS)—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting today with Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia [WPE]. Attention was drawn to the great significance of the visit to the USSR of President Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia and of the comradely conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and the Ethiopian leader, which confirmed the common views of the two countries and parties on the key problems of the present and their mutual aspirations to further strengthen and deepen Soviet-Ethiopian relations.

Anatoliy Dobrynin and Ashagre Yigletu exchanged opinions on a number of international issues, including the situation in the Horn of Africa and the ways to normalize it on the basis of principles of good-neighborly relations and mutual trust between the states of that region. Practical questions relating to cooperation between the CPSU and the WPE were also discussed.

Mengistu Ends Visit, Departs

LD2707172088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jul (TASS)—Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers' Party, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, left Moscow today. He was in the USSR on a brief working visit.

He was seen off at the airport by Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Petr Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and other officials.

The state flags of the Ethiopia and the USSR were hoisted at the airport.

Rwandan Delegation Received at Supreme Soviet

PM2707144588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Our meetings and conversations in Moscow, Leningrad, and Moldavia will allow us to gain a fuller insight into the life of Soviet people and a deeper understanding of the transformations being carried out in the USSR. This was said by M. Ntahobari, head of a Rwandan National Development Council delegation and president of the Rwandan National Development Council.

Parliamentarians from this African country visited the USSR Supreme Soviet on 25 July. During the conversation between the chairmen of the chambers, Yu.N. Khristoradnov and A.E. Voss, and the members of the delegation, the guests said that Rwanda also hopes to receive Soviet parliamentarians. The sides noted the high level of relations between the two countries and voiced the hope that the visit to the Soviet Union by the delegation from Rwanda will be another important landmark on the road to strengthening friendship and cooperation.

A.S. Kishlar, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and Sh. Bunane, Rwandan charge d'affaires ad interim in the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

Meets With Demichev

PM2707145988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Parliamentarians' Visit"]

[Text] The new political thinking that is asserting a spirit of peace and friendship among the peoples must be particularly characteristic of parliamentarians—who reflect the will of their nations. This idea set the tone of the friendly talk held in the Kremlin on 26 July between P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the delegation from the Rwandan National Development Council. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the coincidence or proximity of positions on the most important international problems, and with the progress on nuclear disarmament. The need to pool the peoples' efforts in resolving common human problems was stressed.

The guests showed great interest in the processes of restructuring. They were briefed on the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. It was stressed that the implementation of its decisions will determine the new stage in the development of socialist democracy and will make it possible to enhance the role of the soviets in the practical implementation of key questions of state and social life.

M. Ntahobari, president of the Rwandan National Development Council, stated that his delegation sees the visit to the USSR as yet another step in getting to know the Land of the Soviets at an exceptionally interesting and crucial stage in its development, and as an opportunity to strengthen still further the relations between the two countries.

Talking about the state of and prospects for Soviet-Rwandan ties, the participants in the discussion expressed satisfaction with their onward development. There was an exchange of opinions on the utilization of reserves for expanding and enriching bilateral cooperation in various areas. The Soviet side stressed that our country is invariably in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the developing countries of Africa to strengthen their economic and political independence.

The guests visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Bovin Views RSA, Nonproliferation Treaty

LD2707182888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Jul 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Excerpt] Now a few words on various themes, comrades. The RSA Government recently stated its readiness to discuss the question of the RSA signing the

Nonproliferation Treaty and its readiness to open up its nuclear plants for international inspection. Well, it is difficult to say whether the RSA has nuclear weapons now. In 1977, under pressure from the United States, the RSA stopped building a nuclear test site in the Kalahari Desert. In 1979 two bright flashes were recorded over the southern Atlantic, and its was suspected that this was an explosion of a nuclear device, but there is no precise information. In any case, the RSA signing the Nonproliferation Treaty would be of great political significance, and it cannot be ruled out that the Frontline States would then also sign it: Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania. [passage omitted]

East Europe

Polish Officials Comment on Gorbachev Visit

Jaruzelski Notes Importance

PM2707150988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting of Kosciuszko Soldiers"]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jul—The tasks of the party organization in the light of the decisions of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the party's course of reform in the sociopolitical sphere and the economy were discussed at a meeting of the party organization at the headquarters of the T. Kosciuszko 1st Mechanized Division. Taking part in the discussion was Army General W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, who is a member of this primary party organization.

In his speech the Polish leader noted the great importance of the recent official friendly visit to Poland by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for the further development of the process of renewing sociopolitical life in Poland.

Dwelling on the results of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Army Gen W. Jaruzelski stressed their great importance in the life of party and people and pointed to the need for a new style of party activity under present-day conditions.

Urban Stresses Cooperation

LD2707175288 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 27 TASS—General prospects of cooperation and economic integration between the Soviet Union and Poland were discussed by the sides during the official friendly visit to Poland of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Concrete bilateral economic problems were resolved in the course of the inter-governmental contacts at Poland's request, Jerzy Urban, the Polish Government spokesman for the press, said.

The Soviet leadership, he went on to say, met Poland's wishes by approving its proposals to solve the whole number of economic problems. The Polish side is well aware of the fact that the Soviet Union adopted a number of decisions which might create difficulties for its economy and that, in doing so, it was guided by the principles of friendship and desire to help Poland in overcoming its economic difficulties.

The Soviet Union's stance with regard for Poland manifested the friendship, affection and internationalist approach, Urban said.

All this will contribute to promoting all-round Soviet-Polish cooperation, including its new progressive forms.

Further Reactions to Warsaw Pact Decisions

GDR Leadership Approval

PM2607142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Enterprising Policy"]

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jul—By implementing an enterprising and constructive policy of dialogue and cooperation, the GDR is taking an active part in strengthening the positive trends in international relations, a joint SED Central Committee Politburo, GDR State Council, and GDR Council of Ministers statement on the results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee Conference says. The text of the statement is published in the GDR press today.

The GDR will continue to promote the further normalization of international relations in order to render irreversible the planned turn for the better. We must not lose sight of the fact that the opponents of disarmament could step up their activity.

The SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers welcome the concept of reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe elaborated by the Warsaw Pact states as a constructive step toward preparing for future talks, and they expect the NATO countries to respond positively to it.

The statement notes with satisfaction that proposals on disarmament and on the strengthening of security on a regional basis were given particular attention at the conference. The GDR will continue in the future persistently and undeviatingly to implement the initiatives to create a nuclear-free corridor, a chemical weapons-free zone, and a zone of trust and security in Central Europe.

The GDR will do its utmost to help implement the steps elaborated at the conference aimed at deepening cooperation among the fraternal states, the statement says.

BCP's Stanishev Notes 'Boost'

PM2707153388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee: "Warsaw Boost"]

[Text] Sofia, Jul—During the time that the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference was under way in the Polish capital, not far from the memorial to the Unknown Soldier you could read an important slogan: "Let's Give the World Peace and the Peoples Hope!"

Now, after the publication of the conference documents, one can say with confidence that a powerful boost was given both to the cause of peace and also to the peoples' aspirations to put an end to violence and the arms race.

In Warsaw the allied socialist countries unanimously expressed the conviction that the world has embarked on a crucial phase of its development, despite the fact that by no means all disagreements have been eliminated. But the main thing now determining the recent changes is that the center of international life has shifted from confrontation to cooperation and the threat of nuclear war is evidently moving away.

The first real step has been taken on the path of reducing nuclear weapons. The intensive Soviet-U.S. summit dialogue shows that realism is beginning to carve out a path in international relations. It is also becoming clear that political dialogue is exceptionally useful and the attainment of accords on even the most complex problems quite possible. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan went beyond the framework of that country alone and affect other "hotspots" and the atmosphere in the world as a whole.

Notwithstanding the reduction in confrontation, the increase in East-West dialogue, and the creation of favorable conditions for the cessation of the arms race, the Political Consultative Committee conference pointed out that the threat of the destruction of human civilization has not been removed. The complex and contradictory situation in the international arena can be clearly seen in our partners' approach—they are sooner prepared to turn intermediate-and shorter-range missiles into useless scrap than to abandon the "position of strength policy," "compensation," and the plans for the extensive modernization of other types of weapons.

Having analyzed the fundamental questions of the situation in Europe and the world, the conference participants pointed out that a new historical perspective is opening up. They appealed to the entire world community to increase its efforts to effect a resolute shift to disarmament, above all in the sphere of nuclear forces. The Warsaw Pact countries submit the following as priority tasks: the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms; the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapons tests; the conclusion of a convention on the complete banning of chemical weapons; and the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe with an appropriate reduction in military expenditure.

The statement adopted on talks to reduce armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals is evidence of the fraternal socialist countries' sincere desire to strengthen and deepen the process of detente and create a solid basis of trust. This exceptionally important document moves to the foreground the problem of radical mutual reductions in both alliances' military potentials in Europe, reducing and eliminating the threat of a sudden offensive, and guaranteeing military-political stability on the continent with a constantly lower level of armed forces and arms.

At present political observers are devoting great attention to the idea put forward in Warsaw on the joint creation of an indivisible Europe, a continent of peace and cooperation, a common European home, in which an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust based on the fullest use of the potential of the Helsinki process must be established. The idea that Europe can and must break the fetters of the arms race which restrict the opportunities for economic and scientific and technical cooperation, impede the development of natural ties between people and countries, and make it difficult to overcome disagreements and prejudice is becoming increasingly widespread.

Guided by the principle of balance of interests, Bulgaria is working steadfastly to create a Balkan "floor" to the all-European home. Substantial results have been achieved in this area. The meeting of Balkan foreign ministers in Belgrade, then the meeting in Sofia, and the work of various commissions of experts have shown that the new political thinking and action are also gaining ground in our region and new possibilities are being revealed for mutually advantageous cooperation and strengthening trust and good-neighborliness.

The document adopted on the consequences of the arms race for the environment and on other aspects of ecological safety is also of great importance. The fraternal countries are firmly convinced that active cooperation from states on a bilateral and multilateral basis is needed to resolve problems of environmental protection in conditions of the modern, interconnected world.

The major changes that have come about in international life in recent years are organically linked with the profound transformations in the socialist community countries. It is their supreme goal to strengthen socialism and make increasingly full use of the material and spiritual potential of the fraternal peoples. The world of socialism, which arose in different historic and national conditions, is now seeking methods and forms of social development in line with the times. The ever-increasing process of restructuring is initiating the shaping of new international experience to which every party and country contributes and at the same time has the opportunity to make use of others' experience. Under these conditions the exchange of experience becomes a strong factor for the consistent establishment of relations between fraternal parties and countries on the basis of Leninist principles.

The international character of restructuring is increasingly asserting itself and its common traits are increasingly developing—it is all-enveloping and affects both the base and the superstructure; it is implemented by the ruling parties themselves based on the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and unified, indivisible socialist ownership within the framework of socialist values.

The Warsaw conference assessed highly the restructuring in the Soviet Union as an extension of Great October. It was stressed that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference's theoretical directives and decisions are a tremendous contribution to the international cause of socialism and peace, which is, undoubtedly, galvanizing the processes of renewal in the socialist countries and in the international communist movement and will open up new prospects for social progress.

The course and results of the Political Consultative Committee conference confirmed the cohesion and peace-loving intentions of the Warsaw Pact states. They are convinced that the proposals put forward in Warsaw will be adopted by the partners to whom they are addressed.

Hungary-Romania Conflict Over Resettlement

PM2707101588 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 9

[Unattributed "'LG' Dossier" roundup: "Hungary-Romania: Projects and Problems"—first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial introduction]

[Text] As is well known, Romania has announced plans to eliminate nonviable villages and resettle their inhabitants in new-type agro-industrial complexes. Why is the Hungarian side so perturbed about this? We turned to the press of the two countries to try to answer these questions.

The plans for regrouping existing villages in order to reduce their numbers are being thoroughly analyzed in the light of numerous proposals, principles, and criteria. The aim is to economically and demographically strengthen villages, boost population density in certain zones, and provide them with the appropriate sociocultural benefits in conditions of effective economic activity.

SCINTEIA (Romania)

A statement from the Union of Hungarian Journalists has expressed profound concern at the plans aimed at eliminating settlements of Hungarian and other national minorities in Romania. An appeal from the Union of Cinema and Television Workers pointed out that millions of people will be forced to leave their homes and settle in new areas. This will be an irreparable tragedy for the inhabitants. Romania's national minorities, including the Hungarians in Transylvania, will lose their chance to retain their ethnic identity.

MTI (Hungary)

According to the official Hungarian stance, resettlement from Romania is not encouraged in view of the fact that, in particular, the crisis situation of the Hungarians living in Romania should be overcome not by emigration but by provision of rights in the land where they were born.

HETI-VILAGGAZDASAG (Hungary)

Romania's concept consists in renouncing the policy of force and interference in states' internal affairs. Party documents have stressed on several occasion that respect for the principles of international law is now a condition for peaceful relations between the peoples, the prosperity of every nation, and their independent development.

ROMANIA LIBERA (Romania)

This May the RCP sent a letter to the MSZMP. In the spirit of the policy hitherto implemented by the Romanian side, it repeated that Hungary is falsifying the history of the Romanian people and that the results achieved by Romania and Romanian policy on the nationalities question—a policy that is characterized by the provision of juridical equality for all citizens—are being presented in a distorted fashion. The RCP suggests that the general secretaries of the two parties meet above all with a view to examining economic ties.

The MSZMP's response confirms that the RCP can count on the MSZMP as a constructive partner in businesslike and creative discussion and resolution of problems. At the same time it confirms that it is up to Romania to meet the needs of Hungarians living in Romania and Romania bears responsibility for this. The letter says that the shaping of individual and collective rights concerning the general status of the Hungarian nationality, the possibility of its taking an active part in cooperation with Hungary, and unimpeded maintenance of family ties are still a question of immutable importance for us. The MSZMP has proposed that talks be held as soon as possible at which the groundwork would be laid for preparing a meeting between the general secretaries of both parties.

MTI (Hungary)

Hungary respects Romania's efforts and policy and assesses highly the results attained in the development of Romania in the preceding period. We have also pointed out on several occasions that Hungarians living in Romania must be actively included in the process of socialist building... We have pointed out, furthermore, that we want to live in peace and friendship with neighboring Romania.

From an interview with K. Grosz in Hungary's MAGYAR HIRLAP.

History has predestined the Romanian and Hungarian peoples to live as neighbors and it is their duty to cooperate more closely for the sake of their economic and social progress. The two countries' parties, leadership, and governments bear responsibility for the implementation of this desire for cooperation and good-neighborliness.

From a speech by N. Ceausescu at an RCP Central Committee plenum.

Albanian Paper Cited on Communists' Tasks

PM2707145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On Communists' Tasks"]

[Text] Tirana, 26 Jul—A report and election campaign has been held at the grassroots and regional organizations of the Albanian Workers Party (AWP). Meetings of Communists summed up the results of work over the past year, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes.

Communists and primary party organizations have extensive scope for activity in improving the running and scientific organization of production. Creative activeness, utilization of front-ranking experience, consideration for the opinions of the masses, cadres, and specialists, and the level of their mobilization are the main criteria in assessing work.

The AWP Central Committee organ notes that primary party organizations' priority tasks are to ensure fulfillment of the plans for extraction of chromium ore and for export shipments, to cut imports, to observe a strict economy drive on energy, raw, and other materials, and to resolve a number of tasks in stockraising and supplying the population with foodstuffs and consumer goods.

The raising of Communists' responsibility for their assignments, the improvement of labor organization, and creative thinking create an insuperable obstacle to alien phenomena and bureaucratism, the newspaper writes.

West Europe

Moscow Plenum Plans Alter Genscher Visit Dates

AU2807104088 Bonn DIE WELT in German
28 Jul 88 p 8

[Bernt Conrad report from Bonn: "Gorbachev Postpones Travel Plans on Account of Genscher's Visit to Moscow; After Conference Marathon of the East; Preparation for a Visit of the Chancellor in Autumn"]

[Text] Tomorrow, 3 days earlier than planned, Foreign Minister Genscher will fly to Moscow and meet with Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev on Saturday [30 July]. He is the first Western foreign minister to have an opportunity of a talk with the Kremlin leader following the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the Warsaw Pact summit, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's scientific and practical conference, and the Central Committee plenary session scheduled for tomorrow.

Genscher's trip is taking place within the scope of the regular consultations agreed upon during Eduard Shevardnaze's visit to Bonn in January. The visit was originally scheduled for next Monday and Tuesday [1-2 August]. However, when Shevardnaze informed Andreas Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to Moscow, on Tuesday [26 July] that Gorbachev would be leaving Moscow immediately after the Central Committee session on Friday, Genscher changed his plans. He asked for a date in the Kremlin on Saturday—and was promised a talk with Gorbachev, who is postponing his departure for the guest from Bonn. Now the foreign minister will be staying in Moscow from tomorrow afternoon until Sunday morning.

In view of the Moscow series of dates lasting until Friday, Bonn diplomats consider the date of the visit optimal. Genscher expects to gain from his visit more detailed information about the formation of opinions within the Soviet leadership, developments in foreign and disarmament policy, and the progress of political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

Yesterday Government spokesman Norbert Schaefer pointed out the special interest which had been triggered off by Shevardnadze's recent comments in Bonn on a "reorganization" in Soviet foreign policy. This applies above all to the announced disclosure of the military budgets, which is something that has long been called for by the Federal Government. On the whole, the Soviet foreign minister's speech confirms the chancellor's estimation that Moscow is redefining its foreign policy toward the West, and not least toward the FRG.

In his talks with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze, Genscher will comment positively on the Warsaw Pact's proposals on conventional disarmament, which, in his opinion, come close to Western positions on the main points. At the same time he will refer to the willingness to speedily conclude the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, which was announced in the Warsaw Pact summit communique, and demand appropriate actions.

A main part of the talks will be dedicated to the preparation for Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow scheduled for 24 to 27 October. This will involve specific projects, such as the agreement on cooperation in environmental protection, which has already been negotiated but has not yet been signed on account of disagreement on the involvement of West Berlin.

FRG Communist Delegation Visits, Meets Dobrynin

PM2507113488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation in the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Friday [22 July] received a delegation of ideological workers of the German Communist Party [DKP] led by Willi Gerns, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the board of the DKP. The delegation is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The communists from the FRG inquired about the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the process of restructuring, which is taking place in Soviet society. In turn, they spoke about the DKP's work on strengthening links with the masses and about their contribution of the cause of maintaining peace and developing good-neighborly relations between the FRG and the USSR.

Taking part in the conversation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, were G.M. Korniyenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and other senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee.

Further Activities Noted

PM2607081588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "FRG Communists in Soviet Union"]

[Text] A delegation of ideological workers from the German Communist Party [DKP] headed by Willi Gerns, member of the DKP Board Presidium and Secretariat, was in our country 17 through 24 July at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was received by A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation had talks at the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda, Organizational Party Work, and International Departments, as well as at another department, and met with leading representatives of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, the KOMMUNIST and PRAVDA editorial bureaus, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law.

The delegation met with the party and economic aktiv of Moscow Oblast's Balashikhinskiy Rayon, and visited the Kirov Kolkhoz.

The West German comrades took a lively interest in the processes of revolutionary restructuring in the USSR and the CPSU's activity in the international sphere in the spirit of new thinking, and talked about FRG Communists' work under present-day conditions.

The exchange of opinions was of the friendly and frank nature characteristic of CPSU-DKP relations.

Soviet Embassy Protests Spy Allegations

AU2707183388 Paris AFP in English 1830 GMT
27 Jul 88

[Text] Bern, July 27 (AFP)—The Soviet Embassy here has complained to the Swiss Government over allegations by a Swiss counter-espionage official that Soviet espionage aimed at securing Western technological secrets has been stepped up.

The official's comments were "unwelcome at a time when relations between Switzerland and the Soviet Union are improving", Soviet Embassy spokesman Vladimir Pozdniakov said on Wednesday.

A Soviet diplomat and member of the State Committee for Science and Technology was declared persona non grata by Bern last May and expelled for having established contacts with aeronautic and armament research institutes over several years.

Gromyko Meets With Outgoing UK Envoy

PM2707135988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception in the Kremlin"]

[Text] On 26 July in the Kremlin A.A. Gromyko received Bryan Cartledge, British ambassador to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request. The ambassador is coming to the end of his stay in the Soviet Union and is preparing to return home for good; there he will switch to teaching work and will be a professor at Oxford University.

At the start of the conversation the ambassador announced that, having heard about this meeting beforehand, Britain's Queen Elizabeth II had asked him to convey greetings to the Soviet leadership and the entire Soviet people.

A.A. Gromyko thanked him for the greetings and in turn, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, sent the British people and the queen best wishes.

The ambassador stressed that from the professional viewpoint he takes particular pleasure in pointing out that during the 3 years that he has represented his country in Moscow, Anglo-Soviet relations have improved, exchanges have increased, the rate of their increase is constantly rising, and trade and economic ties have expanded considerably.

From the Soviet side's viewpoint, A.A. Gromyko noted, our relations have become richer. They have never in the entire postwar period been at the level at which they are now. However, this level also can and must be raised. M.S. Gorbachev has mentioned this on several occasions, notably during his meetings with M. Thatcher. We are endeavoring to act in such a way that our relations with other countries do not damage the ties between the Soviet Union and Britain.

The ambassador expressed the conviction that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Britain, planned by the British side, will extend the framework of contacts between the two countries. There have already been 10 meetings between Foreign Ministers G. Howe and E. Shevardnadze; the next one will take place at the upcoming UN General Assembly session in New York. Fourteen rounds of Anglo-Soviet political consultations are proposed in 1988 and they are being implemented. Last year trade contracts worth 425 million pounds sterling were signed, and more contracts worth 1 billion pounds are at the discussion stage. Five joint Soviet-British enterprises have already started operation and talks are under way concerning the creation of another 40 enterprises. The ambassador considers all this a "boom" in trade relations.

The Soviet side noted that all preconditions exist for attaining the joint goal of bringing trade turnover in 1990 to R2.5 billion. It would like these plans to be implemented.

In the course of the conversation A.A. Gromyko assessed the development of relations between the two countries in the recent period. As realists, we do not close our eyes to the disagreements that exist and, primarily, those on the question of nuclear weapons. At the same time the practical experience of our relations confirms that Soviet-British cooperation in the sphere of arms reduction and disarmament is not only possible but absolutely necessary.

Britain's support for the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles indisputably played a positive role in securing this historic accord. On the agenda are questions of radically reducing other types of nuclear weapons, banning and eliminating chemical arms, and reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe. But only one step—albeit a very important one—has been taken along the path of disarmament. Mankind is at the beginning of this historic path and the long road toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world lies ahead.

B. Cartledge: The changes taking place in your society, especially the debureaucratization in the course of restructuring, are making a great impression on me.

A.A. Gromyko: I like your word "debureaucratization," although it is not employed in our country.

Then the ambassador voiced his misgivings that in the future a Supreme Soviet permanently in session will not give its deputies a chance to maintain frequent contacts with foreign countries as it does now.

In response to this A.A. Gromyko noted that whatever the new structure of the supreme organs of state power eventually looks like, the USSR Supreme Soviet will always find an opportunity to maintain regular contacts with Britain at a high-ranking level.

The conversation took place in a friendly and frank atmosphere.

Roderick Lane, counselor at the British Embassy in the USSR, was present during the conversation.

Howe's 'Military Threat' Remarks Criticized

PM2707091488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Krivopalov report: "Not in the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] London—Addressing a meeting of "Atlanticist" businessmen, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe declared: Socialist ideology is retreating. At the same time he rejoiced in the successes of what he called the object of our pride—"American individualism, responsibility, enterprise."

Having thus made his bow in the direction of the U.S. business world, the head of the Foreign Office mentioned the practical steps taken by London, marching in step with Washington. An "object of pride" for the British minister is, for instance, their "successful cooperation in the Persian Gulf, where the West European presence helped the United States to be present."

The foreign secretary did not, admittedly, clarify whether this cooperation extends, for instance, to such actions as the shooting down by missiles of an Iranian civil airliner, shot down over the Gulf's waters with hundreds of civilians on board.

A considerable part of Sir Geoffrey Howe's speech was devoted to praising other aspects of U.S. policy. And he did this in order to revive fears of the "Soviet military threat," fears that are more and more markedly being dispelled in the West, and in particular in Britain and the United States.

"We are still lagging behind!" the Foreign Office chief threatened his audience. "The Warsaw Pact machine is busy securing superiority over us in combat tanks, submarines, artillery, and tactical aircraft." It is therefore necessary, the British minister thinks, to fork out and "increase military spending where it is below a satisfactory level."

It cannot be denied that this speech is patently not in the spirit of the times. It looks particularly bizarre against the background of the recent conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw.

Official London seems to be trying to avoid making really concrete comments on the very important foreign policy documents that were agreed on in the Polish capital. The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference held there put forward important new initiatives. The socialist countries believe that the interests of European and universal security urgently demand a move to a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is proposed that talks on this question begin in 1988, without delay.

And at such a moment the British minister tries once again to cast doubt on the sincerity of the actions of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries. Once again there are calls from the British capital to be distrustful, calls to increase military spending. Is that London's answer, then?

Transfer of F-16's From Torrejon Viewed

PM2607142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Chernyshev dispatch under the rubric "We Report Details": "Pentagon in No Hurry"]

[Text] Madrid, 25 Jul—The problem of transferring 72 U.S. F-16 aircraft to Italy from the U.S. military base at Torrejon de Ardoz near Madrid was one of the chief topics at the recent Madrid talks between Manfred Woerner, NATO's new secretary general, and Spanish Prime Minister F. Gonzalez, Foreign Minister F. Fernandez-Ordonez, and Defense Minister N. Serra.

Speaking about the results of his visit at a news conference, M. Woerner naturally could not overlook fresh information from Warsaw. I refer to the USSR's readiness, expressed by M.S. Gorbachev, to withdraw its aircraft from forward-based regions in East Europe if NATO agrees not to station in Italy the 72 F-16 fighter-bombers rejected by Spain.

How, I wonder, did M. Woerner react to this constructive initiative? He set about claiming that it is one thing to withdraw aircraft thousands of kilometers away from Europe, and another to do so just by several hundred kilometers, as would be the case with Soviet aircraft. True, the visitor did specify: "My words do not signify a rejection, since the countries of the alliance are prepared to analyze seriously any proposal aimed at stability."

...It is noteworthy that M. Woerner visited Madrid right after F. Gonzalez concluded a visit to Italy. The subject of transferring U.S. aircraft from Spain to Italy was discussed in detail at a meeting in Rome, although the sides circumvented the issue in the final communique. By all accounts, the NATO secretary general now wished to obtain firsthand information on an issue which is greatly alarming the Atlantic alliance's strategists concerned at the situation on NATO's southern flank.

It is characteristic that Spanish officials, who had previously "delicately" avoided mentioning the new stationing of the 72 F-16 aircraft, have now altered the tone of their statements. They have begun strongly emphasizing that Madrid certainly does not advocate the withdrawal from Europe of the 401st Tactical Wing of the U.S. Air Force, now stationed at Torrejon.

Spain, they emphasize, only wants the aircraft withdrawn from its own territory, since the Socialist government promised at the time of a referendum on the country's NATO membership to reduce the U.S. military presence. But, at the same time, Madrid advocates that the 401st Wing should continue from a new base the mission in Europe which it is now carrying out from its base on Spanish soil. In short, Madrid would like to leave everything as it was, only without U.S. aircraft at Torrejon.

M. Woerner was in Madrid at a very complex time for the Spanish Government. The thing is that it is holding talks on three fronts at once: on the country's status within the NATO framework, on joining the WEU, and on concluding a new bilateral treaty with the United States, in which dialogue is proceeding in a very complex manner. Spanish diplomatic circles believe that Washington's stand is the reason for the delay over signing the document. The thing is that, under an accord, the United States must withdraw its aircraft from Torrejon "within 3 years from the moment the treaty comes into force."

Thus, the later the document is signed, the later the transfer of the 72 F-16 fighter-bombers will begin.

The Spanish Foreign Ministry insists that the sides continue the talks during August, that is, at a time which usually sees summer vacations in diplomatic activity. The government intends to submit the text of the treaty to the Congress of Deputies at the very beginning of the next sessions period, which opens in the fall, so that the document can come into force during the first weeks of

1989. By all accounts, however, Washington is in no hurry. Having secured its pass to Italy, the Pentagon is in no hurry to leave its old apartment in Spain.

Continuing Trial of Turkish Communists Noted

PM2207120188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Trial Continues"]

[Text] Ankara, 21 Jul—Yesterday the trial of Turkish Communist leaders H. Kutlu and N. Sargin and their comrades resumed. Foreign observers and lawyers were present in the hall. There was no room for mass media representatives there.

H. Kutlu continued his defense. He refuted calmly and confidently item by item the charges against him and the Turkish Communist Party. He stated that the court was illegally biased and that objectivity should not be expected of it. The indictment is directed exclusively against Marxist-Leninist ideology. H. Kutlu categorically denied the fabrications concerning Turkish Communists' involvement in the terror which swept the country just before the 1980 military coup. H. Kutlu especially stressed that he and his comrades had always opposed terror.

The court cut short H. Kutlu's speech and moved its next session to 1 August.

Today's newspapers publish reports about yesterday's session. CUMHURIYET printed a detailed summary of H. Kutlu's speech and carried alongside a letter of support and solidarity with H. Kutlu and N. Sargin sent by Joan Baez, the well-known American singer, who is currently on tour in Turkey.

In court were 15 parliamentary deputies, lawyers, and trade union figures from various European countries, who held a news conference for journalists covering the trial of the Turkish Communists. Representatives of Belgium, Greece, Denmark, France, and the FRG sharply criticized the trial of H. Kutlu and N. Sargin, describing it as a "gross violation of human rights."

Latin America & Caribbean

RSFSR Daily Marks Cuban National Holiday

PM2607124588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[I. Yeleferenko report: "From the Fount of Moncada. July 1953—The Prologue to the Cuban Revolution"]

[Text] Havana—Moncada... Who knows whether this military barracks would ever have won itself glory if a group of young Cuban patriots headed by Fidel Castro had not stormed the stronghold of the pro-U.S. dictator Batista 35 years ago—26 July 1953—in an act of desperation and what many people considered to be madness, but which was the prologue to the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. People performed the exploit but the fortress gave it its name.

The storming of the Moncada barracks brought no military success but became a real political victory. Belief was born in the hearts of millions of Cubans in the possibility of combating the tyranny. The Cuban revolutionary process developed a real leading force—the "Movement of 26 July"—and a specific action plan formulated in Fidel Castro's speech "History Will Vindicate Me." All the country's true patriots rallied around them and this subsequently ensured the success of the "Granma" expedition.

The actions of the living are the best monument to the fallen, APN's own correspondent in Havana writes in a piece for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. You can see this for yourselves today when you see with what elan and confidence in the future the Cuban people are celebrating their national holiday.

The country's present most eloquently indicates the correctness of the chosen path. The revolution is going through a decisive and in many respects crucial moment. The large-scale program of economic and social measures outlined by the Third Communist Party of Cuba Congress, entitled "rectification" or amendment of mistakes, like the process of positive changes under way in other socialist countries, aims to make maximum use of the potential capabilities of socialism and guarantee the people a more fitting happier life.

A real struggle has unfolded in the economic sphere. The main stress is being laid on enhancing labor discipline, ensuring enterprise profitability, and improving the quality of manufactured output. A campaign is under way in various organizations and establishments to reduce "inflated" tables of organization. Strict measures are being taken against people who try, figuratively speaking, to equate what is public with what is personal.

The clearest example of the successes of socialist building on the Island of Freedom are the changes in the social sphere. They are especially noticeable in comparison with other countries in Latin America. The very fact that it has proved possible within a historically short period to do away with such evils—typical of developing countries—as mass unemployment, poverty, starvation, high child mortality, and illiteracy gives Cuba the legitimate right to be proud of what has been achieved. As for the development of the Cuban health service, both socialist and developed capitalist countries could learn something here. The "family doctor" program has become widespread in Cuba recently. This envisages bringing the medical service as close as possible to each family and creating the optimum conditions not only for treatment but also for extensive preventive measures against disease.

As a result one of the world's lowest levels of child mortality has been achieved here: It has fallen from 60 cases per 1,000 births in the prerevolutionary period to 13.6 in 1987. Average life expectancy has risen to 74 years.

One can mention the successes and failures and dispute the advisability of particular specific solutions but in order to be objective, in my opinion, it is necessary to understand the exceptional nature of Cuba's position, its past and present as a country building socialism in direct proximity to the United States. U.S. influence on all spheres of the life of prerevolutionary Cuba was so great and the power of local rulers so nominal that it was in effect a question of a victory for socialism within the United States itself, on territory that they considered their eternal patrimony. That is why throughout these 30 years the Cuba syndrome has been so tenacious in the "northern neighbor." That is why more and more new economic, political, ideological, and other campaigns are invented year in and year out to smother socialist Cuba or just wreak revenge for the defeat of January 1959.

The exceptional nature of the Cuban revolution is also explained by the great force of example and hope which the peoples of other developing countries, primarily Latin American countries, see in it. All U.S. attempts to isolate Cuba at continental level and sever the ties of history and blood linking it with the peoples of Latin America have been defeated. Today the Island of Freedom has firmly taken the place of leader in the quest for a just solution to the most acute problems of the developing world, be they questions of the "foreign debt," the settlement of regional conflicts, or the establishment of a new world economic order.

Today at 1800 on Antonio Maseo Revolution Square in the heroic city of Santiago de Cuba thousands of grateful descendants will honor the memory of those who lit the torch of revolutionary struggle 35 years ago. On this holiday the people of Cuba are full of faith in the victory of the great matter begun by the heroes of Moncada.

Ortega Cables Arias on Guatemala Accords

LD2807085288 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 28 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega urged to step up efforts to fulfil Guatemala peace agreements, signed by the presidents of five Central American countries in August last year. He made his call in a message to Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez, which was published in Managua on Wednesday.

Daniel Ortega proposed to resume the work of the international commission monitoring compliance with the Guatemala accords. The commission includes secretaries general of the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, as well as ministers of foreign affairs of the Contadora and support groups.

On the eve of the anniversary of the signing of the historic document, it is necessary to take a sober look at the contribution of each state to achieving a durable and stable peace in Central America. Having noted Nicaragua's wish for the earliest settlement of the regional conflict, Ortega called the aggressive policy of the U.S. Administration, which exerts every effort to block the fulfilment of the agreements, the main obstacle hampering implementation of the peace agreements. He expressed the hope that the heads of state will manage to overcome differences and hold the summit meeting as planned on August 7.

CIA Continues Supplies to Nicaraguan Contras

LD2707081988 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 27 TASS—Despite a temporary armistice and suspension of combat operations, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency continues aid to mercenary contra units, Colonel Ramon Calderon, commander of the 5th military area, told the NUEVA NICARAGUA NEWS AGENCY.

In the first two weeks of July alone mercenary gangs massed in the central departments of Boaco and Chontales received by air at least four cargoes of weapons, ammunition and military materiel. According to the military intelligence service of the Sandinist People's Army, weapons were parachuted from U.S. planes in the area of the cities of Rama and Nueva Guinea where contras especially stepped up their terrorist activities.

Smirnov Delegation Meets Ecuadoran Official

PM2607182788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Communist Party of Ecuador Congress"]

[Excerpts] Quito, 22 Jul—The 11th Communist Party of Ecuador Congress has opened here. Delegations from fraternal communist and workers parties from the countries of Latin America and the socialist community, including a CPSU delegation headed by V.I. Smirnov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, are present as honored guests. [passage omitted]

The CPSU delegation was received by Jorge Zabala Baquerizo, president of the Ecuadoran National Congress. In the course of the conversation opinions were exchanged on the role of parliamentarians in the struggle to ensure peace and security for the peoples and for social justice. The president of the Ecuadoran National Congress spoke highly of the process of socioeconomic transformations under way in the Soviet Union, the broadening of glasnost, and the results of the 19th all-union party conference.

Briefs

New Cuban Oil Refinery

Havana July 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Voropayev: The Cuban pepole are marking their national holiday today—the anniversary of the 1953 revolution. On its eve, an oil refining complex, built with Soviet technical assistance, went into operation in Santiago de Cuba. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, Fidel Castro, spoke highly at the opening ceremony about this enterprise. The Cuban leader pointed to the importance of a variety of products to be produced at the enterprise for the successful attainment of the tasks of socio-economic development of the country's eastern province. Fidel Castro expressed gratitude to the Soviet people for fraternal cooperation in the construction of this complex. He hailed Soviet assistance in solving many economic tasks, in particular, in prospecting for oil on land and continental shelf, in building roads, the supertanker port in Matanzas, the Matanzas-Cienfuegos oil pipeline and other projects. [Text] [*LD2807024488 Moscow TASS in English 0627 GMT 26 Jul 88*]

Political & Social

Central Committee Plenum Set for 29 Jul

LD2807153988 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Excerpts] The general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev, has said the next full-scale meeting of the party's Central Committee will, along with other issues, discuss the problem of consumer goods, and of using all the reserves and possibilities for tackling the problem. [passage omitted] The Central Committee plenary session is to be held tomorrow.

Further on Armenia, Azerbaijan Situation

Soldiers Help Armenian Farmers

LD2607195588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Yerevan by special correspondent N. Chebotarev, identified by screen caption—recorded]

[Text] [Chebotarev] We filmed this footage in Razdan rayon. This is a special rayon; apart from the indigenous population, emigres from Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as Azerbaijanis, also live here. However, life is proceeding comparatively calmly, both in the city of Razdan and in the villages. It is the busy season and people's thoughts tend to turn toward the harvest, to restructuring the economy. Of course, this calm conceals inward tension. So at the moment, the apparatus of the raykom has an especially great amount of work. We found First Secretary (Gaik Sarkisovich Kotanjan) at the (Ankavan) Kolkhoz. The cadets temporarily stationed at the rayon have come to help the kolkhoz farmers, as our pictures show. [video shows highland road; an apartment building with soldiers digging in front of it; people stacking hay; (Kotanjan) smiling and talking to a group of men; the outskirts of a town or settlement, with two men gesticulating by a car and a group of at least five soldiers in normal service uniform, but with bulletproof vests standing near about a dozen cadets with farmers in the field; cadets and farmers stacking hay]

Today we just cannot get away from USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision. How did the bulk of the rayon's population take it? It probably would be naive to suppose that there was some kind of unanimity in its reception. That is how I see it.

[(Kotanjan)] It seems to me that on the whole, our working people understand that the political reality, the existing realistic legal and political means in the current text of the USSR Constitution, make it possible to examine and to resolve such issues precisely in such a way. At the same time, however, we are attempting through the Communists, at meetings on the shop floor, at people's places of residence, to provide elucidation regarding the existing political reserve contained in the adopted decision, for the further comprehension and advancement of this particular problem. First, we are trying to link this to the provisions in the 19th party conference resolutions, both that on the restructuring of the legal and political system, and the resolution on relations between nationalities, that it is necessary to make the USSR Constitution correspond more fully to the values of restructuring. There is also the question of guarantees, if you will recall. The working people pay much attention to this.

[Chebotarev] And above all?

[(Kotanjan)] And above all, they pay attention to the fact that our general secretary, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, drew attention to the importance of the guarantees for the strict utilization of every opportunity for the full-fledged solution of economic, social, spiritual, politico-legal, and political problems connected with the complex of Nagorno-Karabakh issues; that a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet is being formed that is going to control in its original position the composition and observance of these guarantees. In connection with this, the working people are proposing—and I have been to more than one meeting—they are proposing to have under the roof of this newly organized USSR Supreme Soviet commission sufficient representation of all three parties—the Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenian SSR, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—so that, as was put during the discussion of this question, the dialogue between our republics, between or party organizations, which was started by the newly elected first secretaries, Comrades Arutyunyan and Vezirov, may progress in a constructive manner.

Armenian Soldiers on Fraternity

LD2707202388 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan July 27 TASS—"We believe in the inevitable triumph of common sense over emotions, we believe in friendship and fraternity between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, bequeathed by great Lenin for centuries", stated Armenian servicemen-internationalists now serving in the Republic of Afghanistan. Their address, passed by a general meeting of a military unit, was published in the newspaper KOMMUNIST, the publication of the Central Committee of theh Communist Party of Armenia, today.

In the course of accomplishing internationalist tasks, the address says, we invariably have to cope with them hand-in-hand with representatives of many nationalities of our boundless motherland, among them there are representatives of Azerbaijan. This great friendship strengthens our military unit and particularly vividly manifests itself in formation, in teams and crews, the servicemen underlined. "This friendship acquires decisive significance in the most extreme conditions of combat situation, up to self-sacrifice in order to save the life of a comrade-in-arms", write Armenian servicemen-internationalists. "In our family of servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Republic of Afghanistan there are many examples which convincingly reaffirm how strong are the relations between our nations."

"This will give us strength and bolster up our spirit in discharging our internationalist duty in the Republic of Afghanistan, will be an additional source of courage and heroism", the servicemen underline in their address.

Volskiy, Arutyunyan Meet

NC2807095988 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Discussions were held on 27 July at the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee (?among) several city and oblast committee chairmen, peoples' deputies, and gorispolkom and oblispolkom chairmen. The discussions were also attended by members of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and [words indistinct].

During the discussions, the decisions of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets concerning the decisions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium were discussed, as were issues concerning party, city, and oblast committees and the republic's [word indistinct] party organizations. Discussions were also held on the [word indistinct] of the (?heated demands voiced) by [word indistinct] during recent meetings in Yerevan.

Reports were submitted by Voskanyan, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; Arutyunyan, the republic's minister of internal affairs, and Baghdasaryan, (?acting) prosecutor of the republic.

The discussions were attended by Arkadiy Volskiy, representative to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and a (?member) of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee. Participating in the discussions were workers (Trakova) and [name indistinct], who are accountable to the CPSU Central Committee.

NKAO Enterprises Increase Output

LD2807123288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] A report from Stepanakert: Reports from enterprises on the percentage of members of the labor collectives reporting for work arrive at the industrial department of the party's obkom every morning. Today, this figure reached almost 95 percent. This is commensurate with the average indicator for this time of year. Working life is entering its normal rhythm. At the start of the week mainly preparatory work was being carried out, but Stapanakert enterprises are now quickly increasing the volume of output.

Yesterday the 50-Letiya SSSR footwear factory produced 10,000 pairs of shoes, worth R34,000; output worth R64,000 was produced at the electrotechnical works; the 26 Bakinskikh Kommissarov Karabakh silk combine produced 32,000 meters of material; while approximately 40 freight cars are unloaded at the railroad station daily. The largest Stepanakert enterprises have already reached 80 percent of planned output.

NKAO Development Plan Underway

LD2807120688 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—TASS correspondents report from Baku, Stepanakert and Yerevan:

Considerable efforts are being exerted today for putting into practice the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "on measures for accelerating the socio-economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan in 1988-1995". Commissions of various organizations arrive in Stepanakert these days to outline measures for implementing the plans.

A regional hospital, schools, a furniture-making factory, a combined fodder factory, a water reservoir on the Badarchai River, a sewage and a water supply system for Stepanakert, a number of district centres and villages of the region are being designed by Baku design institutions. Builders are getting prepared in advance for carrying out a large volume of construction and assembly work. Caravans with equipment, materials, road-building and construction machines are heading for Stepanakert.

By the decision of a commission set up by the Committee for Printing, Publishing and Book Trade of Azerbaijan a new printing house with a capacity of 20 million sheet-copies a year will be built in Stepanakert. It will include a section that will publish books and booklets in Armenian.

"The first steps towards the fulfilment of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have been made", said Ayaz Niyaz Ogly Mutalibov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Azerbaijan and chairman of the Planning Committee of the republic. "However, in my opinion, these efforts can and should be more vigorous. Senior executives of a number of ministries are too slow in getting started. They continue to wait, the same as before, for instructions to come 'from above'. The early implementation of the program of the development of Nagorno-Karabakh is a matter of honor for all the working people of Azerbaijan."

A commission of the Ministry of Civil Aviation came to the conclusion that most up-to-date planes can be used for maintaining communication with Stepanakert situated in an area with a complicated terrain. The state research and design institute Aeroproekt will produce next year drawings for installing modern radio navigation equipment in the local airport and for building a new air terminal.

The Labour Collective Council of the Armaviastroy trust approved the decision of its workers to take part in the putting into practice of the development program for Nagorno-Karabakh. A. Gegamyan, first secretary of the Mashtots District Party Committee, told TASS that Armaviastroy was ready to start the construction of the air terminal complex in Stepanakert and in seven years' time to put to use 20 million roubles of capital investments over and above the state orders.

The initiative of Armaviastroy has been supported already by many industrial enterprises. A number of labour collectives of the republic plan to do additional work over and above the targets envisaged by the state orders. Specifically, workers of the Spandaryan plant producing ferroconcrete structures pledged to produce 1,000 cubic metres of ferroconcrete structures. A construction trust decided to use its profits for building several apartment houses in Stepanakert. Medics plan to send physicians to Nagorno-Karabakh for carrying out a massive medical check-up of the population. They will help Nagorno-Karabakh medics to create a diagnosing centre.

Context of Nagorno-Karabakh Grievances Examined

PM2707132788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Jul 88 p 4

[Lyudmila Biryukova "Publicist's Notes": "The Shadows of the Karabakh Mountains"]

[Text] These mountains are beautiful, it cannot be denied. True, they are not distinguished by any great height. One would hardly have thought it possible that Karabakh could cast such a shadow over the whole country. A shadow of anxiety has clouded the faces of all our citizens, wherever they live. They have realized with sadness and alarm that the national peace between two peoples who have been neighbors since time immemorial has been broken. During the development of the conflict a delusion was born, to which many people have fallen prey. What is this delusion?

Let Us Look Closely at the Slogans [subhead]

Everything is mixed up in the Caucasus: Mountains and valleys, peaks and hollows, settlements of people of different ethnic groups. There are borders between the republics, but are they really an obstacle to anyone? There are a lot of different ethnic groups living in Georgia, for example: Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Tatars, Azerbaijanis. In Azerbaijan there are several hundred thousand Armenians. Somewhere on the road from Kirovabad to Lake Gey-Gel high up in the mountains I encountered an unusual-looking settlement: Stone cottages in the European style and a Lutheran church in the square. Yes, a German village. And near Baku you can find the house where Richard Sorge grew up.

According to historians, the peoples of the Transcaucasus have virtually never been at war with one another. On the contrary, the Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians have united more than once to fight off all manner of aggressors: Macedonians, Romans, Persians, Arabs, Seljuks....

There have been some conflicts, of course. Azerbaijanis and Armenians were stirred up against each other by bourgeois nationalist parties—the Mussavats and the Dashnaks. They did not achieve a great deal. They were not very successful. Their cause was defeated and their ideas did not put down deep roots.

Here is a simple episode from life told by Salman Dzhafarov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR People's Control Committee.

"I was born in the village of Prishib in Dzhalilabadskiy Rayon. Samid-ami, a master craftsman renowned throughout the district, was a lodger in my father's house. Uncle Samid had golden hands. He could make whatever you wanted—anything from a clock to a car engine. We lived in harmony together, as one family. Samid did such a good job on my old bicycle that it never wore out. In 1941 he left for the war and came back without his legs. I had just graduated from the 10th grade and gone to the city to study at the institute. And it was only when Uncle Samid died that I discovered he was an Armenian. My father had never told me before. And he was right not to—what would have been the point?"

Every Azerbaijani family can recall more than one story like this—as can every Armenian family. But now many homes are ready to tell you the latest stories, so to speak: How people have been fired from work on national grounds and how children in kindergartens ask each other what nationality they are before making friends. It seems that people's minds can be distorted very quickly, in a matter of a few months....

So what is the crux of the conflict which has had tragic consequences? The crux lies in one slogan current in Nagorno-Karabakh. There are a considerable number of different versions of it but they all clearly express the idea: "One nation, one republic." It is an appeal to gather the whole nation in one territory if possible, under the wing of one republic. Let us take a closer look at this slogan and think about what it says.

A nation cannot be wrenched from the place where it lives. A mixed pattern of settlement has formed in the Caucasus over time. People choose a place to live not with the intention of "joining" the territory of their corresponding national republic but on the dictates of their chosen profession, family circumstances, and climatic conditions.

Is this only true of the Caucasus? Of course not. The fact that ethnic and republic borders do not coincide is not some accident but the result of peoples' historical development. A natural, inevitable result.

But how should we regard this? Is a mixed pattern of settlement a good thing or should it be counted as a flaw?

A visit to "Syntash," a remote Kirghiz sovkhoz situated in the foothills of Zailiyskiy Alatau comes to mind. Fate has brought people of different ethnic groups together here: Kirghiz, Korean, Russian, German. Sovkhoz director E. Alabachayev allocated the duties on his international farm as follows: The Kirghiz workers were responsible for sheep farming—there were no shepherds better than they, the Russians and Ukrainians cultivated the grain and vegetables, and the Germans worked as mechanics; moreover, they tuned the equipment and machinery so well and made so many improvements that the machines were better than the new ones that had just come off the production line. It is no accident that the sovkhoz has an income of millions and is one of the most progressive in the country. It is not even that the labor is divided on the basis of national features, so to speak. On this sovkhoz people have an interest in life. They give each other the riches of their people's spiritual culture, adopt each other's customs, and exchange recipes and popular songs. They have learned to live together, side by side, and realize that this state of being neighbors can make everyone's life more beautiful.

"Any aspiration to national exclusivity can only lead to economic and spiritual impoverishment," the 19th all-union party conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations" states. And is there really a people in our country that would not agree with this from their own experience? Nevertheless, today we are all witness to how representatives of one nation are doing their utmost to consolidate and cut themselves off from their neighbors with as high a wall as possible. Before we condemn them, let us think about the reasons behind this.

The Reasons, Real and Imaginary [subhead]

At a plant in Baku I had a long heart to heart conversation with S. Vagif, whom everyone spoke of as a first-class specialist. Vagif had received his higher education in Leningrad and then become a postgraduate student. He completed his postgraduate work and defended his candidate's dissertation.

"I flew back home to Baku, to my own country, a man inspired," he told me. "I knew that I was needed and that Baku had virtually no specialists in my field. I had so many plans, I wanted to move mountains."

Reality was a sobering experience for him. He suggested his ideas on how to alter technology and organize the more thorough processing of raw materials, but his ideas met with a cool response. It became clear that no one needed them. The situation was even worse with respect to social conditions. He had been promised an apartment but none of the leaders could remember doing so. Vagif sent his wife and two children back home to the old folk while he himself slept in the cellar, having come to an agreement with the caretaker. For many years he haunted the thresholds of various offices, asking for an apartment. He took his request very high up, but it was all to no avail. Everywhere he met with a refusal, although his colleagues, whose conditions were better, had been given apartments. People hinted to Vagif: "Idiot, surely you know what to do?" and followed this with a gesture meaning that he should offer a bribe. Vagif was extremely indignant. He made it clear that this approach was unacceptable to him. Those around him began looking at him with sympathy.

He is still wandering around without an apartment, this specialist—the only one of his kind in the republic—with a scientific diploma and firm principles.

"This is what I think," Vagif said to me pensively. "If I was an Armenian I would feel that I was being slighted in Azerbaijan because of my nationality. But the paradox is that I am an Azerbaijani. I have learned from hard experience that nationality has nothing to do with it."

Yes, the bribe-taking officials are indifferent as to whom they rob. They are not concerned with the nationality of their victims. They have reduced the republic's social sphere to a lamentable state. Here is just one example for you. Passers-by are dumbfounded when they walk past the maternity hospital in Krupskaya Street in the center of Baku (not Stepanakert, but the capital—Baku). The maternity hospital building resembles a collection of dirty, tumbledown catacombs. In the wards it is hot, there is no air, and the women are worried to death by the city's mosquitos, which come in hordes, and cannot sleep. And what does the young infant taking its first breath inhale into its lungs? Stench, smoke, and exhaust fumes.

But right here in Baku there are cosy, shady little nooks where low-rise houses with swimming pools are tucked away. It must be said that by building a life for themselves in these heavenly nooks the republic's old leaders even outdid the eastern rulers of old in some respects. For example, it is hardly likely that a khan would have thought of building a palace to use only once. But in Baku there is such a palace. It was built for Brezhnev, who lived there during his stay in Apsheron. They hacked down part of the city park for the site.

The first step taken by the republic's new leadership was to arrange to immediately give the health system a number of administrative buildings, guest houses, and housing complexes with swimming pools. The hush in the halls and chambers of the palace built "for the nonce," which used to be broken only by the cautious footsteps of serving staff, has now been shattered by the din of construction work: The building is being converted into a wedding palace. The maternity hospital on Krupskaya Street has also been promised a new home in the next 6 months.

What the new leadership has so far managed to do in the social sphere is just a drop in the bucket. Even less has been done in the fight against corruption. The writer Yusif Samedogly, loved and well known throughout the republic, wrote with pain and bitterness in a local newspaper: "There is no area of our life this evil has not penetrated." Asked by a correspondent about what is happening to young people in this atmosphere, Yu. Samedogly said: "We have spoiled our young people and, what is more, we have spoiled them in a way no Western culture could. When I meet students from the philological faculty and talk with them about literature, I often feel terrible. These people are ignorant! And do you know why? They have become firmly convinced that money can buy everything. The difference between money earned honestly and money stolen has been eroded in their minds. Many of the students simply do not think to ask their fellows: How are your studies going? They ask them: How much are you paying for your exam? They do not try to make their fathers tell them where the money comes from for all the cars and video recorders, as theft has become the usual means of obtaining money for existence."

The intelligentsia is sounding the alarm. Ordinary working people are sounding the alarm. A journalist from Moscow only has to set foot in the shop of any enterprise to be immediately surrounded on all sides:

"We read in the papers that order has been brought to Uzbekistan. When will it be our republic's turn?"

People are tired. Azerbaijanis are suffering, representatives of other ethnic groups living here are also suffering. But let us ask this question: Are their rights encroached on to an equal extent? It seems clear that even if their rights are encroached on to an equal extent, those who belong to a national minority in this region are more sensitive to social injustice. Remember what Vagif said: If he were an Armenian he would have suffered more. Because of disorder, indifference, and inertia and the idea that his nationality—"not intrinsic" to the republic—is to blame for everything. But this is only an imaginary reason! you will say. Yes, it is only imaginary, but quite understandable, given the nature of the human psyche.

However, imaginary reasons aside, there are also some very real reasons. At the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session which discussed the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijani leaders were forced to admit that there have been some distortions in the development of the autonomous oblast and that they have not taken full account of people's national interests. There have been errors and they have contributed to the development of friction, mistrust, and tension between the different ethnic groups. Hence the illusion that has arisen among Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh: If we can become part of the Armenian SSR everything will be different.

Why can we rightly say that this is an illusion? Remember, addressing the 19th all-union party conference S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, said that during the May Day demonstrations the people of Yerevan had carried a slogan saying: "Out with corrupt officials!" Yes, Armenia has the same negative phenomena as Azerbaijan. Bribe-takers and people on the make are not concerned with the people's welfare. They just want to fill their pockets. It seems that it is not a question of which republic you live in but how you fight for restructuring and against abuses, protectionism, the "black" economy, and deviations from socialist morality.

Now about that struggle that has been going on for a long time. About the strikes. Who is all this spearheaded against? Is it making the bribe-takers, embezzlers of state funds, other swindlers, and opponents of restructuring shake in their boots? No, it is playing into their hands, as it is deflecting attention from them. But the strikers are punishing the girls working on the assembly line of a clock plant in Moscow, for example, who are being given smaller wage packets because the Yerevan subcontractors have failed to supply the component parts. They are punishing thousands of other workers in Leningrad, Novgorod, Gorkiy, and other cities in the country. It is hard to believe that this is exactly what the strikers wanted. But this has been the result of their enormous delusion, to which many are still prey even now.

Has the Die Been Cast? [subhead]

A. Simonyan, a professor from Moscow, sent a letter to the editorial office: "We are now being strongly urged to strengthen friendship between peoples. But can you tell me with your hand on your heart what friendship between Armenians and Azerbaijanis there can be now after Sumgait?"

A difficult question. Sumgait was a tragedy. Crimes were committed. How are we to live now, how are we to heal our wounded soul? Esteemed professor, let us consider and think about it together. It is hard to discuss the situation when we are overwhelmed with bitterness at this terrible disaster, but discuss it we must.

So, in your opinion, the die is cast. These two peoples have only one choice: Go to the barricade and shoot. Who will benefit from this? Does your attitude not coincide with the plans and intentions of those extremist elements who are producing home-made pistols and grenades and are prepared to use them?

I think that as a teacher and a mentor of young people you are against these methods. Then there is another way: To foster and nurture a sense of injury in people's hearts so that they look at one another with faces twisted with malice. And so it would be until the end of time. But is this the best option?

Yes, it is hard to forget, impossible, in fact. As it is impossible to forgive murderers and rapists. Every one of them will get what they deserve.

So, what next? We should follow the dictates of common sense: Build good relations. Take steps to meet each other halfway. They are the only steps forward.

Kornilov Comments on Paruyr Ayrikyan Case

LD2707163788 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Herr Ortwin Lowack, who represents a CSU [Christian Social Union] Land group in the West German Bundestag, is beside himself with fury over the fact that former Soviet citizen Paruyr Ayrikyan has had to leave the Soviet Union.

"This is unheard of," Lowack fumes, seeking as good as to cross out the entire Soviet perestroyka reform effort with a stroke of his pen.

What kind of democratization and openness is it, he inquires sternly, if Moscow violates, or so he claims, the universal declaration of human rights that says no one may be expelled or arbitrarily stripped of his citizenship?

Herr Lowack's close attention to Ayrikyan and others is by itself not surprising: No one has had any doubt that certain forces in the West, which have been out to cash in on ethnic problems in the USSR and exploiting Ayrikyan's statements actively for the purpose, won't pass up a chance to present his departure from the country in a distorted light and raise the man himself onto the lately vacant pedestal of "Soviet human rights campaigners persecuted by authorities".

What is surprising is the utter lack of care in dealing with facts.

And the matter is not only that Herr Lowack keeps stubbornly mum about "human rights campaigner" Ayrikyan being in fact an offender.

Let me remind the readers in this connection that Ayrikyan in his time was convicted of having formed an underground nationalist organization aiming to topple the existing system of state authority in Armenia (which is, incidentally, a crime punished by law in any country) and that several years later he was convicted of an absorbing passion for giving bribes to officials (which is by no means welcomed, as far as I am aware, in other countries as well).

But Ayrikyan's unbidden advocates keep silent on the very substance of the matter.

The universal declaration of human rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1948, indeed says that "no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality" (Article 15). But the same declaration says in its Article 13: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own".

It is the realization of that right of his that Ayrikyan has sought as he wrote the following in his own hand on July 1 in a request to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

"I ask you to consider the issue of discontinuing the criminal case, in accordance with which I have been arrested, so that I shall be able to take advantage of permission that I have to leave for the United States to take up permanent residence there."

In other words, Ayrikyan, who at first intended to overthrow, no more no less, the existing system of government in Armenia, has subsequently realized the idea is crazy and decided himself, I repeat it, himself, that the best thing would be to separate himself from Soviet Armenia.

Herr Lowack, who, as far as I know, has a good command of Russian, could have easily learnt the fact, by the way, from the Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA. But he hasn't been willing to.

So what's happening? The Soviet authorities have met Ayrikyan's request and Mr. Lowack now brandishes the text of the declaration with fervor, accusing us of having violated it.

And what would have happened if Ayrikyan's striving to move to the United States, where his uncle, as a matter of fact, settled down solidly long ago, had met with a refusal?

In the same way as weather vanes turn as willed by the wind on the roofs of many houses in the federal land he represents in the Bundestag, would Herr Lowack have accused our country with the same fervor in that case of violating another provision in the same declaration?

The uniqueness of the situation, as we see, consists in the fact that CSU figure Lowack can pour forth criticisms from any position, even when lying or standing on his head, if only these are directed against the Soviet Union.

Should anyone have his request turned out, it's bad.

Should anyone have his request satisfied, it's even worse.

What is the essence, the meaning of such somersaulting?

It is not, of course, in the provisions of the declaration and not even in Ayrikyan himself. It is in the fact that some people in the West, using highfalutin tirades "in defense of democracy and human rights" as a cover, are prepared, as we see, to jump at any pretext to try and present the USSR and the processes of democratization and openness under way here in a bad light.

Such are the facts and in their light it is more than obvious that the feigned indignation of the Bonn "champion of democracy", who is anxious primarily that he keep his cozy seat in the Bundestag, can by no means be taken seriously.

The shafts of criticism, or more precisely slander, thrown at us from the banks of the Rhine are clearly off the mark. And, to think of it, they aren't really shafts. Herr Lowack's allegations look more like boomerangs.

Activity of Mafia, Organized Crime Discussed

PM2707160188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jul 88 p 13

[Report on interview with Militia Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Gurov, investigation leader, by own observer Yuriy Shchekochikhin: "The Lion Has Pounced! Diagnosis: Organized Crime. The First Investigations Have Been Carried Out"; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] The word "mafia" has entered our vocabulary to such an extent that if you say to someone with a sigh: "Wherever you look—the mafia..." he will not reply: "Yes, it's an alarming situation in Italy, isn't it?"

We have gotten so used to this word that we are using it in conjuction with almost anything. Stores, scientific research institutes, baths, university departments, creative unions, hospitals, beer halls; hygiene inspectors, diplomats, prostitutes, butchers, chess players, ticket collectors; cities, oblasts, republics, tiny villages barely noticeable on the map, and capital centers.

However, behind the conjectures and insinuations the truth, the dispassionate and cold truth, is beginning to emerge. Mafia is not a colorful image, mafia is a reality, it is a sickness against which we complacently believed ourselves to be immune in the past.

The mafia, A.I. Gurov says, is characterized by three distinguishing features. First, it is a criminal society which has a clearly defined structure and hierarchy: It has a ringleader (or group of ringleaders), a treasurer, liaison men, hit men, and an intelligence and counterintelligence network.

[Shchekochikhin] That is to say, Aleksandr Ivanovich, it is, as it were, a normally functioning organization of a secret type.

[Gurov] You're are quite right, it is an organization that has been set up (and this is its second distinguishing feature) for the systematic conduct of criminal business. The third distinguishing feature is the main one. For a criminal society to become a mafia, there has to be corruption—the secret society must have connections with representatives of the state apparatus who are in the service of the criminals. A prosecutor will shield them from punishment, a militia official will supply them with top secret information, and a ranking official will pick up the telephone at the right moment. [Gurov ends]

I asked A.I. Gurov whether there is any difference between our homespun mafia and the mafia in the West. He said that there is, and that, therefore, he is trying to avoid using the word "mafia" lest his colleagues among Western criminologists get the wrong idea as to the topic of this conversation. The first difference between the Western mafia and ours lies in the former's multinational connections, whereas, as everyone knows, the borders of the USSR are tightly closed not just to the mafiosi; and the second and main difference is that their mafia is constantly trying to legalize its capital, thus creating entirely legal millionaires, rather than just clandestine ones as in our country.

Then he asked:

Maybe we should refrain from using the word "mafia" in our conversation?

[Shchekochikhin] You are a better judge than I. But what if Western criminologists take the view that we are dragging our feet in this sphere too...

On the other hand... Aleksandr Ivanovich muses: Our criminals are beginning to establish contacts with foreign "partners," especially in the antiques and drugs spheres. Incidentally, these contacts are being established via former Soviet citizens (some of whom, after leaving our country, have set up criminal groups—in Italy, for example). Sad though it is, we have already obtained information indicating that with the emergence of cooperatives our leaders of organized crime have obtained an opportunity to legalize their capital, to "launder" it, as it is called in slang.

So shall we stick to the term "mafia?"

[Gurov] All right, let us take a closer look at our mafia. [Gurov ends]

When Did It All Start? [subhead]

[Shchekochikhin] Certainly not under tsarism!—A.I. Gurov says with conviction.

And when I remind him of the writings of Gilyarovskiy and Doroshevich, he explains that they wrote about professional criminals who existed then as now, and who, undoubtedly, will exist in the future. But that is not a mafia. Professional thieves—pickpockets, burglars, armed robbers, cardsharps, and horse thieves (the latter have disappeared together with the horses)—existed even in those days, but they could not be described as "organized" crime. Admittedly, it is true that the Odessa card swindlers paid a tribute to certain police officers, but on the whole crime was not coupled with corruption.

Then there were the gangs of the twenties (they provided much inspiration for crime fiction) but they did not turn into a mafia. For the selfsame reason—the absence of corruption within society, that is to say, state apparatus employees were not bought (although individual examples could be found).

The nature and level of the crime situation correspond to social relations. That is an axiom. Try to think: Was it possible for organized crime to exist during the Stalin years? No, it was not. Organized crime is impossible in a totalitarian state (as is known, both Hitler and Mussolini stamped out organized crime in their countries).

I asked Gurov: Was it not then that the criminal fraternity which operated with the connivance of the authorities [vory v zakone] came into being, and if it did, how did these criminals differ from today's mafiosi?

[Gurov] Quite right, this "criminal fraternity" appeared in the thirties. That was the time when our camp system was developing by leaps and bounds. There were far fewer criminals than so-called political prisoners, but it was the criminals who assumed leading functions in conditions of captivity.

[Shchekochikhin] Why, if they were in the minority?—I asked, although I was aware how naive my question sounded...

[Gurov] Initially it was even the practice to select foremen and guards from among the criminals. After all, the others were "fascists"—this is how the criminals referred to all those sentenced under Article 58, from people's commissars down to peasants. Some camp commanders deliberately played off the criminals and political prisoners against each other. The criminal fraternity which operated with the connivance of the authorities was a criminal caste that came into being during those years and, from the beginning, in the early thirties, established its rules of conduct, one of which stated that it was not to get involved in politics or enter into any contact with the authorities.

[Shchekochikhin] And so, by not getting involved, they continued to live in relative freedom? Did they represent a state within the state in that Stalin country...?

[Gurov] Yes, they were united by a criminal ideology, they adhered to a rigorous code in relation to each other (which reflected the relationships within the country) and they also had their governing body—the thieves' assembly—(the Kazan and Moscow Sokolniki assemblies are well known); but they did not develop into a mafia. The "professional criminals" understood that, if they formed an organization, they would immediately have a political label pinned on them, and that would be no laughing matter. Furthermore, the "criminal fraternity" were the people who, at that time, enjoyed the greatest freedom. They did not experience the material hardships suffered by the rest of the people; within their own circle (and they avoided all others) they were not afraid of paying the price for a careless word; furthermore, the articles under which they were punished were much less dangerous than Article 58 with its many terrifying paragaphs.

[Shchekochikhin] That is to say—I am trying to clarify here—that the "Stalin regime" which annihilated millions was lenient toward the "professional criminals" provided they did not form an organization...? After all, apart from the advantages you have already cited, they were also more frequently amnestied than political prisoners. How it all ended at the decline of the Stalin "era" was shown in the recent film "The Cold Summer of Fifty-Three..."

Maybe you are right, my interviewee agreed, although as a lawyer I could cite many examples to illustrate that the "professional criminals" were also frequently victims of unjustified repressions (for instance, their mass executions by firing squad in camps are well known). However, no matter who was the target of the repressions, they were unlawful, and therefore a crime, even if they were directed at the criminal scum. Nonetheless, in the search for the roots of our organized crime we must state categorically that even if Stalin had not existed, a mafia would not have formed in the thirties. The country was poor economically, and a mafia usually comes into being above all under conditions of a sufficiently well developed economy. And he went on: The first signs of a mafia appeared in our country when the economic mechanism began to improve, that is, under N.S. Khrushchev. However, the scale of its activities was laughable by today's standards: In 1958-1959 the average damage caused by economic crimes in the RSFSR totaled R1.5 million. Nowadays this amounts to the annual income of a skillful burglar.

And so, while it was possible in the sixties to speak of isolated signs of a mafia, it did not become a social phenomenon until the seventies.

We will recall that it was then that this foreign word began to be used more and more frequently in our everyday vocabulary. Inaptly, it seemed: "Mafiosi" at the housing maintenance office? "Mafia" in a university department? "Cosa Nostra" at the Krasnodar Kraykom? Simply ridiculous. It was more likely that we were using this word to express our bitterness at the social injustice that we were witnessing virtually daily, at our inability to breach the bureaucratic walls, at the disparity between the propaganda and the realities of life.

But something new also appeared: Koreyko [clandestine millionaire character in Ilf and Petrov story "The Golden Calf"] came out into the open! Those who were formerly reticent about their illegal millions began to invest them openly in Mercedes cars, diamond necklaces, and private villas that they built in front of everyone's eyes. (What did a beer hall magnate have to fear if the country's leaders and their children were flaunting their wealth?)

It was then that we began to whisper in despair: "The mafia..."

However, apart from the processes that were visible with the naked eye, there were others of which only the criminologists were aware.

This is how A.I. Gurov assesses the situation in the seventies:

[Gurov] More and more money from the state budget began to be funneled into private hands. The methods were many, but the main one was the creation of underground shops and even whole factories through which state raw material resources were channeled. This led to the emergence of "tsekhoviki" [underground shop managers]—white-collar crooks. As a reaction to the development of the shadow economy, the "professional" criminal world—that is, those who could be described as the successors of the "criminal fraternity" of the Stalin era—sharply stepped up their activities. Even the rules of "handling" the new contingent were drawn up with the help of a criminal world ideologist of the old school—Cherkasov, a member of the former "criminal fraternity."

[Shchekochikhin] What rules were these?

[Gurov] Rule number one: Take from those who have. Rule number two: Do not take everything, because there is a limit to people's patience. Rule number three: Try to involve a law enforcement organ official in every job because he will ensure that "dirty linen is not washed in public" (I am quoting literally). It was guided by these rules that Mongol's criminal organization began its activities. According to the unanimous opinion of both, criminologists and field workers, it was with the appearance of this organization in Moscow in the early seventies that our own mafia began to form. In Uzbekistan this happened slightly earlier—in 1967-1968.

The managers of the underground businesses became the target of attacks by gangster groups. What methods did the latter not use to force the former to share their revenue! They set fire to their cars, houses, and dachas, they abducted their children (it was in the seventies that kidnapping came in—a crime that had formerly not existed in our country), they blackmailed and tortured them: For instance, they put one clandestine millionaire into a coffin and set about sawing it in half until he promised to pay his "dues." These attacks were not reported to the militia! Money began to flow into the criminal sphere in sums that were unheard of in the history of professional crime. And no sooner had these vast sums accumulated in the hands of the professional criminals than a number of bosses began to emerge among them who were able to maintain a staff of bodyguards, spies, and hit men.

[Shchekochikhin] What I would like to know, Aleksandr Ivanovich, is what was stopping the "white-collar crooks" from hiring their own protection squads? After all, they had the money!

[Gurov] You're right. The answer was for the various criminal organizations (above all, economic and gangster organizations) to form an alliance. The underground businessmen asked for peace first. The peace was concluded at a congress attended by representatives of both factions. The congress was held in the midseventies at a city in the North Caucasus. The businessmen agreed to pay 10 percent of their income to the professional criminals in return for being left alone and even given protection.

[Shchekochikhin] My interest could not fail to be evoked by the mention of congresses, and I asked him: Was this the only congress that he knew of? He replied that it was not. The last congress (as far as he knew) had taken place in 1985 at a Black Sea resort and was devoted... to a restructuring of work in connection with the increased activeness of the militia.

However, let us return to the seventies.

Aleksandr Ivanovich, if we accept that the "tsekhoviki" agreed at that time to pay the professional criminals, they were equally obliged to dole out money to the upper echelons, to various administrative organs. These kind of relations have been reported in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA more than once, even during the times of stagnation.

[Gurov] Of course... They paid those above them for shielding them from the law or endorsing illegal deliveries to their underground shops, and they paid those below them—in order to protect themselves against attacks.

[Shchekochikhin] And so, in the seventies criminal organizations were established whose upper and lower echelons, while not knowing of each other's existence (or pretending not to know of each other's existence) were nonetheless linked by the millions which, with the help of the "tsekhoviki" were siphoned off from the nation's revenue and channeled into the income of the criminal classes.

This is the legacy with which we have arrived in the present.

We Have Arrived and This Is What We See... [subhead]

Today, as the investigations carried out by A.I. Gurov and his colleagues show, the situation is as follows.

Organized crime in the country exists on three levels.

At the first and lowest level there are established criminal groups which are not yet strong enough to exercise their influence in the echelons of power. Such groups are operating in non-Chernozem rayons and other zones. At the second level there are similar groups which, however, have connections with corrupt officials. And finally, at the third level there are the strongest: Several groups unite to form one group and the strongest clan controls the others (in the West this is described as the Mafia network structure).

But is there an all-union mafia, so to speak?

[Gurov] No, there is not, nor can there be. Incidentally, there is no Pan-American mafia in the United States either. Each clan controls its own territory.

[Shchekochikhin] What do you think, do the leaders of our clans know each other?

[Gurov] Unquestionably. They also have their own pecking order and their own career structure.

[Shchekochikhin] How many groups did you study?

[Gurov] Around 200. According to the criminal case materials one in five—and according to conversations with their leaders, one in three—of these groups had connections with corrupt representatives of the administrative apparatus.

[Shchekochikhin] I asked which parts of the country are most contaminated with the mafia.

[Gurov] The contamination is uneven. In the United States, too, organized crime has been detected only in 20 of the 70 major cities. And here? So far there are no global investigations; we are not digging very deep. However, the information already available indicates that criminal organizations exist above all in all southern regions, including the Ukraine and Moldavia. In my view, Kiev, Lvov, Odessa, Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk... rank among the most contaminated Ukrainian cities. And then there is Moscow and Leningrad, of course. Criminal organizations exist (albeit at a lower level) in Tambov, Penza, Yaroslavl, Perm... It has now become fashionable in criminal circles to establish control over small cities. In Moscow Oblast this applies to Belashikha, Lyubertsy, Pushkino, and Orekhovo-Zuyevo.

[Shchekochikhin] Aleksandr Ivanovich, why do the southern regions attract the mafia?

[Gurov] I believe that the explanation for this must be sought in the economic sphere. The south is our Klondike. This stands to reason... However, the reason why Uzbekistan is currently on everyone's lips is another matter. It is not only because the cotton, which existed only on paper, enabled people to earn billions of rubles on the side and because the corruption of the leaders brought the republic to wreck and ruin. We cite Uzbekistan as an example also because we have dug relatively deep there. Other regions are yet to be focused on. For instance, we have recently returned from Khabarovsk Kray where we discovered a criminal organization that calls itself "The Directorate." Recently "The Directorate" issued an appeal advocating the establishment of a mutual aid fund for those in prison. However, it follows from the text of the "Appeal" (I read it myself) that the money is not intended for everyone but only for the upper echelons of the criminal world.

[Shchekochikhin] Does this mean that new discoveries lie ahead of us? And I assume they will be no less significant than those produced in Uzbekistan?

[Gurov] I believe you are right. Organized crime is spreading, more powerful groups tend to swallow up less powerful ones. In the criminal world there are now those who rule and those who are ruled. Control is being established over the traditional, "professional" criminals who prefer to work in the old way. According to our information it is not just the underground businessmen who pay protection money to the mafia (as in the past) but also pickpockets, drug traffickers, nocturnal dealers in vodka, and prostitutes. If they don't pay up, they are simply not allowed to operate. It is this "wall-to-wall control" that I regard as most dangerous today.

[Shchekochikhin] However, does not the desire of some to control the others evoke resistance on the part of the latter?

[Gurov] Yes, it does. The "criminal fraternity," for instance, is now split into two factions that hate each other. One group lives according to the old principles, while the other has entered the service of the sharks ("protectors of the sharks"—this is how the first group contemptuously refers to them). Sometimes they go as far as to kill each other off, but more frequently it is representatives of other groups that are in conflict.

[Shchekochikhin] I recall December of last year. In the vicinity of the "Aeroport" Metro station a group of unidentified persons killed in cold blood a man who had just got into his car in the yard of the writers' center. The murdered man turned out to be a member of a Moscow Oblast grouping. I read about his funeral by chance in the British newspaper THE OBSERVER. This is what the Moscow correspondent of this newspaper saw as he "accidentally" (as he himself puts it) came across this funeral:

"My taxi came to a halt at a spot where an ice-covered road branched off the highway. There were already 40 or more cars and it was immediately obvious that something unusual was happening here. At every yard of the way from the fork in the road to the cemetery there were bunches of red carnations placed at regular intervals by the participants in the procession. However, the most surprising of all was the lineup of those attending the funeral. At least six gangs from Lyubertsy (not to be confused with the teenage groups—Yu. Shch.) were represented, judging by the little groups surrounding the bosses. The latter were dressed in a style resembling the Chicago fashion of the twenties. It was hard to believe that all this was happening in the Soviet Union in 1987. They were wearing Borsalino-type hats pulled down over the eyes, shabby woolen overcoats, high-heeled white leather shoes, and a cigarette in the corner of the mouth. There were approximately 100 men, some 50 women, and instantly recognizable militia men dressed in civilian clothing and equipped with video and still cameras."

A.I. Gurov knows about this incident (including the funeral). Sumptuous funerals are characteristic among the mafia. He told me about the recent death in Tashkent of the brother (!) of one of the gang leaders (who himself was killed recently). More than 2,000 people from many of the country's cities attended the former's funeral. The funeral procession paralyzed the city center by bringing traffic to a halt.

I asked A.I. Gurov to tell us more about the nature of the conflicts between groupings.

According to him the most frequent cause are territorial disputes.

Are there armed clashes?

[Gurov] Yes, sometimes. Many of the hit men practice shooting as a sport. Unfortunately, it is no problem for them to obtain firearms.

[Shchekochikhin] A.I. Gurov describes a recent firefight in Moscow. It was caused by a dispute between two criminal groupings—the city and oblast grouping—which could not agree as to who should control the "shell men."

I hope readers know who the "shell men" are. The press has reported on more than one occasion about the young guys who have appeared at Moscow markets with a new game that consists of guessing under which cup a little ball is hidden. This simple pastime is bringing them a vast income. They were controlled by the Moscow City grouping to which they paid protection money. However, the oblast grouping decided to take them under its wing. The firefight was the result.

Then A.I. Gurov told me something that, frankly speaking, surprised me:

As a rule the leaders of the criminal groupings are not interested in attracting attention. They have special arbitration tribunals for settling territorial disputes at which, as a rule, members of the "criminal fraternity" act as arbiters. Furthermore, the criminal world bosses control crime in their own territories; and it is to their disadvantage to stir up trouble around other people's crimes.

And he added that here our mafia is learning from the experience of the foreign mafia. A public opinion poll carried out in the United States has revealed that people are more indignant about murderers, rapists, and vagrants than about organized crime.

My next question related to cooperatives.

A.I. Gurov told me that recently he and his colleagues interviewed 109 inquiry and criminal investigation officials about changes in criminal organizations that they observed in connection with the development of cooperatives. Of those polled, 81 percent cited "racketeering," that is, extortion; 52 percent cited protection; and 22 percent partnership efforts (that is, the investment of capital in cooperatives with the aim of "laundering" it, making it legal).

I asked him whether the militia had received any requests from the cooperatives for protection against the racketeers, "protectionists," and would-be partners.

[Gurov] There have been only isolated requests... They are afraid that we will not protect them, although my colleagues know that even doctors who engage in private practice have already received visits from mafia representatives.

[Shchekochikhin] Aleksandr Ivanovich, what is the income of the leaders of the criminal clans today?

[Gurov] If you take into consideration that the stakes in their card games have reached R500,000 and that the bribes which they have offered our staffers range between R300,000 and R1 million, you can imagine what their income must be...

[Shchekochikhin] So who are they? Who are these "godfathers" of ours? Churbanov, perhaps?

[Gurov] Churbanov! Don't make me laugh! In criminal parlance the likes of him were no more than "two-bit messenger boys." These crooks in official posts carried weight only in their own circle, among their subordinates. Those whom they helped (or in whose services they were!) did not regard them as equals. With the possible exception of Adylov. He alone managed to maintain a commanding position on both sides of the divide. He was both order and award winner and a "godfather."

[Shchekochikhin] So who are they then?

[Gurov] According to our information the mafia clans are headed either by former sportsmen, or professional hardened criminals, or insignificant, gray economic managers, or a pizzeria waiter, for instance. However, the latter has both bodyguards and spies, and his own system for controlling his territory. And—most important, he has corrupt connections with whose help he climbs higher and higher.

[Shchekochikhin] And what sort of life do they lead?

[Gurov] Strange as it may seem, the "godfathers" live modestly and—as far as those around them can tell—law-abidingly. Naturally, they have a dacha, a car, and a good apartment, but they do not show off. They do not keep drugs at home, or millions stashed away in a mattress.

[Shchekochikhin] But is it not they who gamble away up to R500,000 at cards?

[Gurov] It is! But among their own people! In their own dens! Before the eyes of their accomplices, who, more often then not, are their equals in the mafia hierarchy.

[Shchekochikhin] I simply cannot hold back the following question: Wielding such vast sums of money, the mafia, no doubt, can afford to hire assassins for its convenience? Well, why am I saying "can"! Even I know that it does! How much do they pay for this?—I ask Gurov.

[Gurov] Judging by concluded criminal cases, between R30,000-100,000. However, this is not what the biggest money is spent on. Hiring an assassin is less profitable than buying a ranking official. Two-thirds of the loot (according to information gathered by the prosecutor's office scientific research institute) are spent on bribing officials. Two-thirds! Can you imagine what this amounts to? An awful lot, wouldn't you say?

[Shchekochikhin] You bet...

[Gurov] If it weren't for the people who are prepared to accept this money, the mafia would expire.

Who Will Win? [subhead]

[Shchekochikhin] Half a century ago it would have been easy to answer this question: "What do you mean, who? A fleet of paddy waggons would have been dispatched immediately and anyone suspected of belonging to the mafia would have been grabbed, together with their wives, and neighbors, and cousins thrice removed, and innocent bystanders, and whole southern nations into the bargain.

And more recently, 15 or so years ago, (had it occurred to anyone to ask such a question) people would not have thought twice about the answer either. "Why 'who'? We, of course!"

How easy it all was in the past!.. But you try to find a correct and truthful answer now.

Aleksandr Ivanovich, why have we begun to talk about this so late? As recently as 5 years ago (and what are 5 years?—a fleeting moment!) the question of the existence of a mafia in our country made the leaders of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs raise their eyebrows in amazement and ask with a condescending smile: "Have you read a lot of detective stories?"

[Gurov] Even if Shchelokov had wanted to admit the existence of organized crime in our country, how would he have done it? How, I ask you, when the criminals were connected with Brezhnev's secretary? And what about Churbanov?.. You think there were no people in the militia at that time who knew about all this?

[Shchekochikhin] I believe there were, I believe they were tormented by their powerlessness in the face of this, I believe they kept knocking on the doors of the high and mighty in their ministry. I believe this because in those selfsame years of stagnation the same guys from the militia also approached our newspaper and, risking the loss of their jobs (that at the very least!), submitted to our editorial office materials that they had been forbidden to use by their own bosses: "Send this to the prosecutor's office. Maybe someone there will believe?" "Go and see for yourselves!" "Write about it! After all, it is impossible to remain silent on this matter!"

[Gurov] That is precisely the point... Admitting the existence of organized crime in the country? No one was interested in this! In my opinion, there is no need to explain why...

[Shchekochikhin] I asked A.I. Gurov: How do the Western police manage to combat the mafia? After all, if you think about it, it is much more difficult for them than for our militia men. After all, there are no fines in the West for the failure to register with the authorities. Their borders aren't like ours. You won't find any voluntary people's militia squads in the streets either. (I believe that Western policemen can only sigh enviously at the conditions in which their Soviet colleagues are working.) Yet, nonetheless, they manage to expose mafia clans! How often have we heard from television and the press about such exposures; thank goodness, such reports are no longer accompanied now by mocking and transparent allusions to the depravity of Western ways. They manage to expose, detain, and try the mafiosi...! And all this under the watchful eye of defense counsels with watertight arguments that you cannot shrug off on the grounds that "they found who to defend!" And they try them! And give them long sentences! Root them out, bit by bit...!

The Western police has experience on its side, A.I. Gurov replied. And it has a law to combat organized crime. Such a law, unfortunately, does not yet exist in our country. (Even if we sentence someone, what do we sentence him for? At most for swindling, or for incitement. After all, the mafia leaders themselves do not kill or plunder!) Western laws allow photographs and movie film as evidence. In our country, in accordance with a hypocritical law, the courts do not accept video material as evidence. And then there is the matter of equipment! Where is it, our equipment? A "UAZIK" [jeep-type vehicle] that breaks down constantly, a camera that was written off 10 years ago? And even if equipment is available, people do not know how to use it. Whereas THEY have long-established departments and sections for combating organized crime! [Shchekochikhin narrative ends]

[Shchekochikhin] Yet, Aleksandr Ivanovich, we have also set up such sections. Even if only recently, but we have admitted that we have a mafia...!

[Gurov] So far such sections have only been set up at criminal investigation departments, and even then not everywhere, and they are being burdened with extraneous tasks. This is because deep down people simply cannot believe that the mafia does not just exist in movies but in real life! Not so long ago an old Ministry of Interior apparatchik said to me with reference not to organized, but merely common professional crime: "So you, Gurov, have discovered a 'criminal fraternity' in the 70th year of Soviet power? You should be ashamed of yourself!"

[Shchekochikhin] I agree with Gurov: What is needed is a law, as well as special sections in criminal investigation departments that would engage exclusively in combating the mafia; it is also true that the equipment that our investigators have at their disposal is a disgrace (it is hardly a comfort to them that medics are in much the same position.) All this is correct. But somehow it is not the whole answer to the new question that life has posed us: "Who will win?" After all, we do want it to be us...!

I despise prosecutors and investigators who rely solely on their noses "to sniff out" the mafia. They are prepared to forgive themselves 10 false arrests for one captured "shark." There is no evidence, the witnesses are false, the victims, too, are faked, but they can "smell" that what they are dealing with is no small fry. I know what a high price the whole of society has to pay for such mistakes. A.I. Gurov agrees with me: Anything but Beriya's methods! Anything but lawlessness!

So what is the solution?

And Aleksandr Ivanovich supplies the answer which I (by dint of my profession) should have given:

Glasnost! The mafia must know that we are aware of its existence and will combat it as a phenomenon.

I agree with A.I. Gurov: We must above all recognize the mafia as a phenomenon because we know that it is the mafia that stands to gain from command methods in economic management. We know that in bureaucracy lies its salvation. And in glasnost its downfall. It was no accident that the period of stagnation was the most favorable for the mafia.

However, if the mafia clans have already established their assault squads, could they not use them to destabilize the situation in the country?

Aleksandr Ivanovich Gurov does not rule out this possibility.

And my last question to him: Will your superiors not punish you for telling me, a journalist, the truth?

He shrugs his shoulders: Not now, they shouldn't...

Here are a few details about my interviewee: After his military service he joined the militia and simultaneously enrolled for an evening course at the Moscow State University Law Deparment. He was staggered by the disparity between what he saw and what he read in textbooks and heard during lectures. In class he was told that "professional crime had been eliminated in the USSR." Yet in his work he daily met those who were supposed to have been "eliminated." Professor N.F. Kuznetsova invited him to write a paper which later became his dissertation for the candidate title, but that was not until he had worked in criminal investigation departments, including that of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and managed to get a job at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Scientific Research Institute. "Whenever I tried to prove that professional crime does exist, they kept slapping me down. Luckily, Igor Ivanovich Karpets, chief of the scientific research institute (at that time), and his deputy V.N. Burykin backed me up. And while I was trying to prove that professional crime existed, I came across organized crime." A.I. Gurov's doctoral thesis which he defended in spring of this year was devoted to this new topic in Soviet criminology.

I simply cannot hold back another episode in his life. Maybe some readers are now racking their brains trying to remember: "Gurov, Gurov... the name is familiar." Have you remembered yet? His name was in all the Soviet newspapers and his action evoked heated arguments. Aleksandr Gurov, a junior militia lieutenant at the time, shot to death the famous Lion King, who was "playing" (as the newspapers put it) with a passerby in a schoolyard right in downtown Moscow.

I have a reason for recalling this incident right now.

Aleksandr Ivanovich, drawing a parallel between the lion and the mafia, can you tell me... Is the lion getting ready to pounce or has he pounced...?

[Gurov] The lion has pounced.

Editorial Note: We are only just beginning to learn the whole truth. There is much that we are only guessing at, and much that we do not even suspect.

We are making a start. And it cannot be ruled out that behind some mysterious phenomena of our present existence we will glimpse the face of the mafia skillfully manipulating actions and events.

We are making a start and declaring our immediate program with the publication of this article today.

Murakhovskiy Chairs Meeting on Environment

PM2707150188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 2

[TASS report: "Attention and Concern for Nature"]

[Text] A routine session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium commission for the conservation of the environment and the rational utilization of natural resources was held 25 July.

The question of the unsatisfactory execution of the laws on environmental conservation at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy was examined on the basis of materials of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. Checks carried out by the prosecutor's office organs have established that a number of nonferrous metallurgy enterprises in the Kazakh SSR, Tajik SSR, and Maritime Kray are violating nature conservation legislation and are failing to take adequate measures to reduce the discharge of harmful substances into the atmospheric air and the discharge of polluted sewage into water expanses. The commission noted that the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy continue to be among the main polluters of the environment. Plans for the construction and commissioning of nature conservation establishments at the sector's enterprises are regularly unfulfilled. The 18 cities in the country where nonferrous metallurgy enterprises account for the bulk of discharges of pollutants from stationary sources are among the cities with the most polluted atmosphere.

The commission drew the attention of USSR Minister V.A. Durasov to the regular violation of the demands of nature conservation legislation at the sector's enterprises, which is causing serious harm to people's health and to nature, and instructed the ministry to elaborate and implement measures for the fundamental improvement of work on the conservation of the environment and the rational utilization of natural resources at nonferrous metallurgy enterprises. It has been instructed to examine attentively, on the basis of data supplied by the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, specific instances of the gross violation of the requirements of nature conservation legislation, and to identify and punish the people to blame for the fact that these violations were perpetrated.

The commission examined the question of measures to increase the ecological purity of automobile equipment produced in the USSR. The commission noted that the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, and the union republic councils of ministers are failing to take radical steps to reduce the harmful influence of motor transport on the environment. Motor transport accounts for 40 percent of the total quantity of pollutants discharged into the country's air. The USSR Ministry of Automotive Transport and the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building have failed to set up the production of effective systems for neutralizing motor vehicle exhaust, in connection with which the country has been obliged to buy them abroad. The USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry has failed to resolve the question of increasing the production of clear gasolines necessary for the operation of vehicles with neutralizers and also the question of organizing the production of antismoke additives for diesel fuel. The ministries and departments that operate transport facilities and the union republic councils of ministers are not taking proper steps to switch motor transport to operating on compressed natural and liquified petroleum gases, to improve motor traffic movement, and to create monitoring and tuning posts at automotive enterprises and technical servicing stations.

The decision adopted on this question outlines a package of technical, technological, organizational, and other measures whose gradual implementation will make it possible to reduce motor transport's pollution of the environment by one-third to one-half.

The question of the state of the provision of greenery in the USSR's cities was also discussed. Considering that green areas are an effective means for the ecological protection of cities and other population centers and the embellishment of the urban landscape, the commission instructed the council of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and local soviet ispolkoms and the ministries and departments whose enterprises and organizations which have under their jurisdiction green areas within the city limits to elaborate and implement measures aimed at improving the creation, conservation, and maintenance of green areas and their use for the ecological protection of the city and city dwellers' leisure. In particular it has been decided to bring the area of urban green areas for public use up to the set norms by the year 2000 and to carry out in 1988-1990 a full count and inventory of all green areas in cities.

The commission session was chaired by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Baklanov Visits Zelenograd Electronics Center

PM2707144188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Building Up the Potential of Electronics"]

[Text] The modern level of technology and the economy is directly dependent on high rates of development in the electronics industry. A CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted recently determined a complex of major measures for the priority development of this sector. The electronics industry scientific center at Zelenograd, where the sector's largest research institutes, design bureaus, and experimental and series production plants are concentrated, plays a leading role in implementing these measures. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited this center near Moscow 26 July.

While noting the undoubted achievements in the center's activity, the CPSU Central Committee secretary drew its leaders' particular attention to the need to complete development work within the shortest possible time and to embark on the manufacture of integrated circuits for microprocessors, memory chips, and other units which match up to the highest world technical standard. He stressed the crucial importance of the Zelenograd scientific center in resolving the tasks of the rapid development of the entire electronics industry and organizing creative joint work with research organizations in machine-building, instrument-making, and other sectors.

During conversations with workers and engineering and technical personnel, O.D. Baklanov asked how the implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is going and what is changing in the activity of labor collectives and party organizations, in the activeness of Communists themselves, in the development of their initiative, in boosting their organization, and in the struggle to speed up restructuring. Questions of housing construction, collectives' social development, and improving food supplies were examined.

On the same day a session of the interdepartmental coordinating council was held in which the CPSU Central Committee secretary took part. There the tasks of ministries and departments to accelerate the development of the electronics industry were discussed.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, and V.G. Kolesnikov and V.I. Shimko, USSR ministers.

Mironenko, Georgian Official Discuss Conference

OW1907101288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0355 GMT on 6 July carries the scheduled "Personae Dramatis" program featuring Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol, and Emzar Beridze, first secretary of the Lanchkhut party committee of the Georgian Communist Party. Both were delegates to the recent party conference. The two delegates are seen sitting in an informal setting surrounded by several young people. The program joins the discussion in progress.

Mironenko says that things are changing rapidly, with Komsomol leaders no longer preoccupied with pleasing their elders in the CPSU. Beridze interrupts, saying that times have certainly changed and that the days of expulsion threats to individual members of the party have long passed.

After briefly answering a question on socialist pluralism, Mironenko asks whether he may be allowed to quote the words of Faust, which he says he would have done at the party conference had time allowed. The essence of the poem is that only he who is prepared to fight for freedom deserves to live in a free society. Mironenko says that all he hears these days are questions on what guarantees will there be that perestroyka and glasnost are not temporary phenomena and are here to stay. He goes on to say that no such guarantees can be given because none exist. Opposing or contradictory forces exist and will continue to exist, this being apparent even at the party conference.

Vladimir Tesyul, a young doctor, says: "Presently, the Komsomol is virtually impotent in its relationship with the youth." He asks whether it would be possible for the Komsomol to occasionally assert a political line independent of the CPSU.

Beridze answers that if he had heard or read Mironenko's speech at the party conference he would have found it "courageous and, I would say, even dangerous to himself."

Mironenko says that there were three things of vital interest to the Komsomol: "A youth policy, which we have been waiting 10 years for. We have been struggling for it for 10 years even though it was included in the draft law on youth." "Second, what we have been talking about, the independence of the Komsomol and the adherence of its organizational independence on all matters." Third, "there is only one right that we have not, as yet, passed on to the primary organization. That is the right to recommend a member for admission to the CPSU," Mironenko says

Mironenko says that the Komsomol no longer accepts unquestioningly all direction from the party. For example, he says, there were heated debates between the Komsomol and the Central Committee before the congress and "we stuck to our position and preserved it."

"The Komsomol cannot, must not, remain as it is today. Under no circumstances can this be allowed. I am not talking about its fundamental basis, its ideology or philosophy. But it must become a new organization with a new image based on Lenin's view of a union of young Communists." Mironenko says that Lenin saw the youth organization as one where the primary organizations had "full rights, with the organization's central committee defending the rights of the local units when necessary. The youth have their own views, needs, and desires, as do groups in any society, including the USSR. They should be arguing, debating their positions and interests." "Unfortunately," he says, "this does not occur." Mironenko then outlines progress made in decentralizing the power of the Komsomol and transferring power to the primary organizations.

Yevgeniy Dergunov, an administrator at a leisure association, says: "We feel that the party still lacks openness [otkrytnost]. We do not know the Central Committee secretaries or what they are doing. We are not privy to the Central Committee meetings or to Politburo meetings." Beridze replies that on the raykom party level much can be done to improve the situation. Furthermore, much will have to be done to regain the confidence of the people. But people must also learn to demand their own rights.

Mironenko says: "You know what is most important? I can see how our Soviet citizen is slowly unbending. He is acquiring the feeling of self-respect, that his opinion and position are valued. At the conference we could feel how this person, who is now standing up straight, is beginning to apply pressure, positive pressure on the structure. Political pressure. Yes, pressure and influence. Let us not be afraid of these words. We have this now. That is why there was progress at the conference. This is reality now. This is the beginning. In regard to party openness, then the party, as long as it remains a party, will behave like one. Even though in our case the party occupies a unique position. Over there, they have several parties and each one has its own secrets. Our party is a people's party and it is natural for the people to want to know as much as possible. The fact that they do not know what the secretaries are doing, I think is bad. There is also the question of some other aspects that may remain closed. Well, I am a realist. As long as it remains a party, there will be things that are secret. But the party must be honest to the people."

An engineer named Gusev points out that there has been a proliferation of informal organizations caused by the loss of the authority and prestige of the Komsomol. Igor Medvedev, dressed in a paramilitary uniform and wearing two Afghanistan campaign medals on his chest, interrupts Gusev, saying that all this is merely "kitchen talk," vague, ill-directed chatter, expressing personal opinions and lacking in constructive content.

Sergey Stankevich, a young historian and member of the CPSU since 1987, asks for permission to make several observations. "I do not propose that we should, at this stage, be starting some form of a multi-party system, or for that matter, be looking at other alternatives. I want to say the following: it is of crucial importance to overcome that alienation which developed in the previous period and which permeated a significant part of the population in its relation to both the Komsomol and the party. We must not close our eyes to this. The alienation that I am speaking about is real. Unfortunately, this was not overcome during the conference. Why, for example, didn't the delegates of the conference go out in the streets? Why didn't they turn to the people?"

Stankevich says that there is enormous interest in the changes taking place and it is vitally important to keep the people well informed. "Mikhail Sergeyevich said on many occasions that as a revolution restructuring began from above, but its success can only be insured if the revolution also occurs from below concurrently. We should not close our eyes to it, for this is already taking place. This was illustrated by the Sakhalin lesson, as well as Yaroslavl, Astrakhan, and numerous other similar episodes. People are no longer content to substitute administrative games for democracy. Therefore, it is very important to find forms in which specific, daily political activities of the people can find expression," Stankevich says.

A woman named Olesya Kurlyandskaya suggests that there is a desperate need for other youth newspapers that could act as forums for young people. Mironenko answers that he was recently in the United States, where the League of Ukrainians have their own small press. Unfortunately, in this the United States has far outstripped the USSR. He says this is not possible right now, for technical rather than political reasons and the lack of resources. Olesya continues: "For a long time we really did not know anything about our leaders, about our party leaders. How were they elected, what did they do before being elected, how did they get elected? Currently some are lauded, others are suddenly being scolded. Why? Why did the Yeltsin situation suddenly occur? If the newspapers had been writing steadily about him, instead of these sudden revelations ... It was only at the conference that some of the leaders revealed themselves and told us about themselves. For the time being, there is still very little being said about this."

Mironenko agrees with this assessment.

Mariya Vasilyeva, a student at the Moscow Engineering Physics Institute [MIFI] says: "After all, I am a human being and I have the right to a choice. There are many public and political organizations and the Komsomol is but one of these. Every person should have the right of choice—and as yet we have no such right, for presently you either vote for a Communist or no one at all. The same applies to the Komsomol. You either vote for members of the Komsomol or ... there is no one else. Why? I must have the freedom to choose."

"We now ask: Is there enough democracy? Surely no one would say that there is enough of it. But, in comparison with 5 years ago, or even one year ago? How was this achieved? Well, certainly, one cannot deny the good will of the general secretary and his approach to this cause—and other present Politburo members. On the other hand, if not for the struggle of the citizens whose expectations perhaps exceeded the original intentions of the hierarchy ... this did push things along. This struggle must continue," Beridze says.

Andrey Azharovskiy, a student at MIFI, says: "I feel that in light of historical experiences we have already mentioned, they have shown that under the conditions of a one-party system or a one-Komsomol system, we are not insured against all kinds of excesses. I agree that on the basis of the experiences of other countries that have a multitude of political parties, certain deviations are possible. But I think the question is a basic one. Which path are we to follow? Either we will continue to believe in the theory of one of a kind, say that the central television will restructure itself—that certainly would be great— or one ideological organization and one organization for the youth of the country? These organizations, for whatever reason, could be, for a time, mistaken. But sooner or later it will find the needed strength. And, sooner or later a good man appears, say Viktor or Mikhail Sergeyevich, and do what has to be done.

"I think that this belief in a kindly [dobryy] tsar is not something that is worth living or waging a political struggle for. I feel better when people speak to me of democratization, or when I hear that the people were cogs who have been building socialism for 70 years, but it just so happened that we had a poor helmsman who turned the ship in the wrong direction and the ship, with all of us on board, nearly ran aground. I think that things are not at all like this. If we were to take, as on the ship, the propeller, the engine—that is the people—and the captain, who could conceivably go mad and run the ship aground, as separate entities, then this is not a socialist form of organization. Socialism is when people stop being cogs, when the propeller takes the responsibility for determining the ship's course. I think therefore, that this system calls for a multitude of associations."

Mironenko, interrupting, says that it is unfortunate that this wonderful thought should lead to such wretched conclusions. Several people immediately object to Mironenko's choice of words and Mironenko hastily apologizes. He goes on to say that the problem of the past is to be found in the "monopoly on truth, something we would like to leave behind us, once and for all. I think that enough has been said about this. No one has a monopoly on truth. Neither the television network nor the CPSU Central Committee, or anyone else for that matter. But in terms of ideology, in the spiritual sphere, there is—I want to make this clear—there is truth and there is delusion. In either system there is an equal chance of making a mistake. Also, why do you see this party as a monolith, with one person at the head of all this, and imposing his will on all? What about the 20 million people who have their own opinions, their own lives? What is needed is to create such democratic mechanisms within the party that would never allow the opportunity to monopolize truth."

A lively discussion ensues on the need to raise the role of the soviets. The possibility of another candidate opposing the raykom party secretary is brought up, and it is generally agreed that this situation is quite possible and no longer in the realm of fairy tales. The possibility of party officials abusing power, particularly in provincial centers, is briefly discussed. An unidentified speaker interrupts: "Seventy years ago Vladimir Ilich Lenin characterized the party as the mind, honor, and conscience of our epoch. Seventy years hence the party headed the revolutionary restructuring process. In relation to this, it seems strange to speak of a multiparty system, or a party of non-Communists, or of various other alternatives. All this is strange because I deeply believe that the duty of all to whom the fate of restructuring is dear, is to support the growing signs of trust in the party, and the processes of criticism, self-criticism, and democratization within the party, and not to stomp on these signs of trust."

Mironenko concludes the meeting by saying that the things that gladden him most are that the era of passive acceptance is over, and that the fact that people are sitting here and debating various issues is a healthy sign that provides hope for the future.

The program ends with shots of the meeting dividing into several groups and people engaging in animated discussion.

Current Leaders Must Be Open to Criticism

PM2707131588 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 29, 18-24 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 20 Jul 88) p 2

[Reader's letter from the "Correspondence With Readers" feature]

[Text] I have always been perturbed by this question: Why is it that we boldly criticize only those who have become nonpersons? Even now, when the press is actively talking about our mistakes, the top party and soviet leadership is once more outside the zone of criticism. I think that this is incompatible with the principles of democracy.

The successful development of socialism is possible only when there is genuine people's power—there is no need to prove this to anyone today. The party conference said it unambiguously. But in actual fact real power is by no means in the people's hands.

Why has this happened? Simply because elections in our country are held without people exercising their right to choose. At times we are forced to "elect" deputies who are totally unknown to us and are recommended by local and central organs of power. What happens is that the organs of power virtually elect themselves.

We need pluralism of opinions not in words but in deed. Only then will candidate deputies in our country engage in a genuine struggle for participation in representative organs.

G.A. Alperovich, CPSU member since 1943, Rostov-na-Donu

UK Paper on Need for Change in Communist Party

PM2607131088 London MORNING STAR in English 26 Jul 88 p 7

[APN correspondent Dmitriy Ardamatskiy article: "Perestroyka and the Art of the Possible"]

[Text] The place of the Communist Party in the key reforms of the Soviet political system gave rise to a range of questions which were highlighted at the recent 19th All-Union Communist Party Conference.

Can perestroyka radically renew Soviet society and give Socialism a human face without changing the role of the party in society?

Are fundamental democratic changes possible without altering the principles underlying party activity?

And, as Academician Leonid Abalkin asked the conference, "are we in a position to guarantee democratic organisation of community life while maintaining the Soviet structure of society and the one-party system? If so, how?"

Others replied that politics is the art of the possible and the conference served to prove this axiom.

Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev asked at a press conference whether the party conference decisions on democratisation were sufficient, adopted a dialectical approach.

The agreed measures, he said, were the optimal variant in the specific conditions of the present, in the given circumstances and at the current stage of the development of Soviet society.

It is clear, however, that the party itself must change and that its role in society must alter, if the party is to radically restructure that society.

Of course, the one-party system in the Soviet Union remains and the Communist Party is still at the political helm. But, at the same time, the party itself is being fundamentally renewed. Its policies, character and methods are changing, as are the social conditions in which it operates. The concept of pluralism is no longer viewed in a negative light.

The party has firmly rejected a system in which democratic principles are declared but authorisation reigns, in which democratic institutions are boasted of but the norms of Socialist life are trampled on and in which there is no open information of glasnost.

"We want Socialism," party general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev told the conference, "to rely in full measure on the achievements of human progress."

In order to realise the necessary changes, the party and its agencies must act within the Constitution and Soviet laws.

It means that party committees have no right to assume the functions of state bodies and management institutions, or to give commands to community organisations.

In future, the party will enact its policy through its members working in every sphere of society. Its organisational and ideological work will be carried out in accordance with democratic principles.

The resolutions adopted at the conference are a guarantee that these changes will become law during the course of the political reforms.

It may seem paradoxical that the recommendation to bring about "a growth in the leading role of the party" should be linked, not to the consolidation of the old style of rule by injunction, but to renouncing such methods in favour of the party proving its actual worth in action.

Soviets [subhead]

Then there is the matter of democratic verification of party activity. The working people will exercise control over the party as the secretaries of party committees begin to put themselves forward as candidates for election as chairs of soviets at various levels.

These candidates should, it is envisaged, be selected from two or three nominees at full meetings of party committees, before standing against other candidates for election to the soviets.

This process will, of course, happen alongside the other major task set by the conference—"to revive the power of the soviets."

There is no practical alternative to the one-party system which has emerged in the Soviet-Union but there is an objective need for a constantly operating mechanism to represent views, criticisms and self-appraisal within the party and society.

Some people are looking to the press or to research organisations to support the perestroyka policy. Mikhail Gorbachev mentioned in this connection the formation of a patriotic movement of all the Soviet nationalities.

Whatever the form which it takes, constructive political dialogue, pluralism, and due regard for public opinion, are becoming inalienable features of the perestroyka process, and the conditions for deepening democracy in Soviet life.

Reader Protests Ex-Krasnodar Leader's Pension

PM2707091688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from P. Nenashev in Krasnodar under the rubric "Letters '...Not for the Press'": "Not What He Deserved"]

[Text] There is much talk nowadays about how the facts of public life cannot be kept from the people today. We have indeed begun to receive far more information. But by no means everything. Take, for instance, S.F. Medunov, former first secretary of Krasnodar party kraykom. After being removed from his post because of his mistakes, he went to Moscow, it is claimed, where he received an apartment and a pension. Yet not so long ago the article "A Prosecutor's Career" was published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, in which Medunov was described as the leader of the Krasnodar mafia.

Moreover, in the square in the center of Krasnodar where the names of Heroes of Socialist Labor are engraved, the city authorities are in no hurry to remove his name. If we are to tell the truth and eradicate evil, let us do it thoroughly!

P. Nenashev,

Krasnodar.

Results of Public Poll on Privileges Reported

PM1107152888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27, 3 Jul 88 pp 10-11

[Vitaliy Tretyakov article: "Social Justice And Privileges: Do They Match?"—boldface as published]

[Text] The existence of privileges that go with a position is an open secret. What ordinary Soviet people think of them shouldn't be a secret either.

A team of sociologists conducted a telephone polling of Muscovites at the request of "MN" to see how their ideas of social justice tally with the fact that some groups of people in this country are entitled to privileges. This is what the team has found. (Footnote) (The team polled 548 people of all the main age groups ranging from senior-school students to pensioners and social sections in Moscow. The poll was conducted by sociologists L. Byzov, A. Guzanova, I. Mintusov, V. Kuznetsov, A. Solovyeva, I. Shekhet, V. Nikioforov.)

Against the Privileges But Not For Levelling [subhead]

In compiling the questions for the poll, we were quite sure that most people take a negative view of privileges. But we wanted to know why. Was this view based on the psychology of levelling, or perhaps on a desire to see all people wanting the same things, the same way of life?

If this was so, such a psychology would signal the danger of a kind of "barrack-room equality", a danger which, to socialist society, is no less menacing than the inequitable distribution of certain material wealth.

To dispel this doubt, one of our first questions was: "Is it fair that some people in our society receive (through legitimate and honest means) very high incomes?" The answers were:

Yes, it is—61 per cent.

No, it isn't—25 percent.

Thus, most of the polled are not inclined towards levelling at all. But the share of those who think it bad to earn a lot under socialism is rather big. Who are they?

They are mainly people over 60, retired and those with a poor education.

But one should not regard them all as backsliders. It should be remembered that pensioners here form one of the least provided for sections of the population.

Which Privileges Are Fair? [subhead]

In formulating one of the key questions of the poll we proceeded from the fact that in one way or another special privileges are enjoyed in our society by executives of various levels, i.e., people whose jobs claim a good deal of their time, and require efficiency, and involve responsibility for decisions which affect many other people.

Are the following privileges enjoyed by executives fair? Here's what the polling revealed (in percentage).

privileges	fair	unfair	hard to say
chauffered cars	42	44	14
flats in superior housing in highly prestigious areas	21	67	12
state-owned dachas; dachas in highly prestigious areas or areas within convenient distance from town	24	65	11
exclusive outpatient clinics and health centres	29	60	11
food packages, goods from exclusive shops	9	84	7
preferential treatment in buying bus, air or rail tickets	36	52	12
free availability of any books or seats in theatres, movies, etc.	11	80	9

Thus, more than a half of those polled think everything listed above unfair, except chauffered cars. Notably, privileges connected with the performance of duties (true, in real life the privilege is often abused)—chauffered cars and transportation tickets—are fair in the opinion of correspondingly 42 and 36 per cent of those polled. This is the maximum. Incidentally, many people qualified their answers thus: "It is fair if the car is used by the executive, and it is not fair if it is used by his wife and children."

It clearly follows from the answers that state-owned dachas, exclusive clinics, superior-quality housing, and especially food packages, theatre seats and the like bear no direct relation to one's job and hence people of all walks of life should have equal access to them all.

It has, besides, transpired from the poll that most people are in the dark about details of the system of privileges. Many said they could not answer those questions because they had no precise knowledge on the subject. Some people were even unaware of the eight privileges we listed, and this is only a third of what can be regarded as privileges of executives in our society!

Interestingly, practically all categories of the polled assessed the same privileges in one and the same way. There were no dramatic variations depending on age, occupation or education. Even those of our pollers whom we listed among executives disliked the word "privileges" and more often than not thought them unfair.

Yet there is one social group that almost always proved to be more in favour of privileges than people in any other. They are the military and those who enforce law and order. For instance, 25 percent of them supported the idea of special food packages, in contrast with 14 percent, or mostly even less than 10 percent of other pollers who are in favour of keeping this privilege.

A curious fact is that only 4 percent of the military and law-and-order people voted for free availability of books or seats in theatres.

Deserved or Not? [subhead]

It is only half of the task to establish which privileges are deserved and which are not. The other, and no less important half, is to establish which social groups in the public opinion do not deserve their privileges.

We had our pollers grade ten (not all, of course) privileged groups on the five-point scale, five being the top mark. Thus, the average marks given to each social group are as follows, see Table 2.

privileged groups	average mark	value of marks
leaders of the country	4.3	5 (All privileges are deserved)
military	4.1	4 (Privileges are largely deserved)
diplomats	3.7	
mp's	3.6	
noted figures in theatre, art and literature	3.6	
economic managers	3.2	
party apparatus	3.0	3 (Privileges are largely undeserved)
ministerial and departmental executives	2.8	
trade union executives	2.7	
Komsomol executives	2.6	2 (All privileges are underserved)

Clearly, the pollers accept, with various reservations, the privileges of the first five groups and actually reject those of the other five.

Preference is visibly given to the country's leaders and the military. As for the latter, many explained their opinion by saying that military officers who had had to rough it as they moved from place to place have surely earned a good flat and some privileges in old age. Yet quite a few were nevertheless against the privileges of those officers who constantly live in Moscow.

The least favoured by the pollers are obviously the so-called "apparatus" functionaries. The most frequent opinion was that those in the Party apparatus should live the way everybody else does, should have no privileges, i.e., should stand in queues with the rest of the people and use public transport.

The least favoured are trade union and Komsomol executives. As regards privileges of Komsomol executives, one of the polled said that they produce in him nothing but vexation. As to trade union executives, it was said that rather than protecting workers from the administration, they protect the administration from the workers.

All privileges of Komsomol executives are believed to be undeserved by 35 per cent of 16- to 19-year-olds, and by 50 per cent or more in the rest of the age groups. None of the groups (according to sex, age, occupation, etc.) went higher than 19 per cent in deeming all privileges of Komsomol executives deserved.

33 per cent think that all privileges of trade union executives are undeserved, and 21 per cent think them largely undeserved. Only 23 per cent of workers said that the privileges of trade union executives should be considered deserved or largely deserved.

Society of Social (In)justice? [subhead]

The most striking answers were given to this question: "Do you think our society can be called a society of social justice?"

23 per cent gave a firm "yes," with another 21 per cent saying "rather yes than no".

25 per cent said "no", and 19 per cent thought it was "rather no than yes".

Thus, 44 per cent of those polled consider our society socially just, while the same percentage have the contrary opinion.

The first assessment comes primarily from people of poor educational background and those who are above 60; pensioners, military officers and executives.

The latter assessment prevails among 21- to 29-year-olds (only 11 per cent in this age group called our society just); specialists (both in the humanities and technology) and generally people with higher education.

The answers to this question undoubtedly require an in-depth analysis and special comments. Already during this survey we made an attempt to find out whether there was any maudlin reason behind so high a percentage of those who thought our society unjust, such as, for example, envy of those who enjoy privileges. So asked this question: "Is it fair that Muscovites are better provided with food and other goods than people in most other cities?"

58 per cent of Muscovites said it was not fair and 31 per cent said it was.

Since the majority of Muscovites think their privileges are unfair, there is no doubt they are sincere in their critical attitude to the privileges of people in executive positions and in their assessment of the social justice of our society.

Academician Assesses Results

LD1107153488 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27, 3 Jul 88 pp 11

[Professor Leonid Gordon article: "A Choice That Must Be Made"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Prof. Leonid Gordon, D. Sc. (History), comments on the results of the poll.

I think that the MN poll succeeds in pointing out the toughest problem of perestroyka. And I don't think the delegates of the all-union party conference will fail to take notice.

I understand that the figure 44 per cent may strike some as unpleasant. This is the number of those polled who consider our society unjust. But the most striking thing is that precisely the same number of polled said exactly the opposite. These figures may fluctuate depending on the poll, but I think that the proportions will remain approximately the same. And after all, this testifies to the polarization of views on such major problems as the sense of social justice. It would be much "easier" if 90 per cent of the polled were to agree that society is unjust—not to mention the opposite. If the absolute majority feels that society is unjust, then everything is clear. Under perestroyka, the party must rely on this majority, carry out its will, and see things through to the end. But when the ratio is equal, it is impossible to disregard the view of those who are sure that everything is normal the way it is.

Of course, what people think doesn't always correspond to reality. But for the given topic—the issue of whether people feel that there's social justice or not—it's a hundred times more important than the calculation of incomes, payments and privileges. As a matter of fact, the people are always right when it comes to social justice.

Suspicion may arise, as if someone is placing the blame for his personal disorganization or unrealized excessive ambitions on society, declaring that it's unjust. Of course, things are much more complicated. It's characteristic that the biggest differences in views are not the result of professional specifications, but of age and educational levels. This shows that the polarization of mass consciousness is a part of the traditions and values of various generations.

What conclusions can be drawn? Firstly, this situation must be done away. Society cannot exist normally for any long period with such a diametrically opposed sense of its justice. Secondly, it is especially important to eliminate this situation since the results of the poll show that tomorrow more people will consider our present situation unjust than do today. Tomorrow there will be more educated people, our present young people will constitute the majority of the population, and it's they who speak the most about injustice. Thirdly, in the next 15-20 years, while the people of the older generation are still alive and active, as difficult as it may be, they will have to take into consideration not only the views of those who regard the market, commodity-money relations, cooperatives and individual labour activity as a blessing for the progress of socialism, but also the views and sentiments of those who have the opposite point of view.

Now about privileges. What are they, anyway?

They are certain things granted to specific categories of workers in addition to their wages. Privileges have a host of sensitive aspects. Some people think that privileges are granted only to high officials, when in reality they are enjoyed by all the members of his family. The same is true of the wages received by each of us. But the fact that privileges are nearly always veiled and aren't controlled by the public makes them a more serious issue. The main thing is that privileges are far less democratic than direct—even if they're significant—differences in labor remuneration. It is very difficult to bring privileges into line with the work of one concrete person. And if that's not enough, they in one way or another carry the mark of classes. If there is only difference in earnings and no privileges, then should my child fall ill, I'll buy nothing, I'll even sell the clothes off my back, but I'll be able to pay for him to be treated at the best resort. But today we have resorts and medical institutions which no ordinary citizen can get his child into no matter what.

Privileges greatly restrict the freedom of those who don't have access to them. Only money as labour remuneration provides the maximum number of liberties for making use of various boons, including scarce ones in our society with its given level of development.

In short, the system of privileges is a hindrance to the economic and social development of socialism. It is a manifestation of the same type of socialist feudalism, as was Stalin's consolidation of collective farm workers in the villages.

It is important to understand that people oppose privileges as a type of labour remuneration that is inaccessible to others and do not protest the fact that, say, a minister has earned several times more than an ordinary engineer. It used to be that we always compared ourselves to other countries, saying that the salary of a minister is only twice as much as that of a skilled worker. But a minister's pay includes not only his basic wage but a lot of other things.

It has to be repeated over and over again that under socialism it is impossible to avoid differences in payment and consumption. The question is how these differences manifest themselves? The most open and democratic form is through differences in salary without all the privileges and advantages. But is this easy to do?

Such a decision will no doubt have certain adverse effects. First of all, those whose privileges are taken away will be offended. Later, it will lead to a sharp rise in the fluctuation of administrative personnel.... But, on the other hand, is this really an adverse effect? We are struggling over administrative staff reduction. So, it would be fine if those holding administrative posts just for the sake of privileges were to leave on their own. In any event, an honest approach demands that really responsible officials be compensated for the loss of privileges by raising their salary. In some cases, it's obvious that this compensation must be substantial.

An administrative apparatus deprived of privileges will necessarily become closer to the people, to those they guide. On the other hand, the sense of social justice will be obviously increasing in society.

Finally, about glasnost's role in this question. Secrecy is one of the main aspects of the system of privileges. It is being used with the utmost skill by bureaucrats to take funds from the people to create more amd more privileges for themselves. Not to mention the fact that secrecy surrounding the system of privileges, not substantiated by legislation, makes it possible to conceal many abuses by the system.

For a man who is not a master of his country to think that he really is, it is important that he does not know how the real masters live. Incidentally, one of the myths of the Stalinist epoch centres on the asceticism of the leadership and administration of that time. I think that had we known the truth about that epoch, the myth would have collapsed.

Is it good or bad when people know nothing about privileges? There is no answer in and of itself. It depends on what ideal we need. If it is the ideal of socialist justice and democracy, in which collisions and contradictions are inevitable but society is prepared to settle them, then the people must know everything. If it is an ideal of the Stalin or Mao Zedong type, where only the leaders are omnipotent and omniscient then the people can live with a minimum of knowledge and initiative, carrying out conscientiously (or not) the orders of the higher authorities. Such a life is simple and clear. Thought you can't call it comfortable. With such a lie life comes low labour productivity—hence a low level of comsumption—the arbitrary rule of authorities, bloody repressions, an absence of freedom, and cultural decay.

It is up to society to decide whether to keep the system of privileges or to abolish it. The consequences of both decisions are obvious. As is, I think, the choice which must be made.

Sociologist Interviewed on Party Conference

OW2607132288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0225 GMT on 9 July carries the scheduled 30-minute "For One and All" program devoted to an interview given to journalist Leonid Parfenov by Academician Tatyana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya, president of the Soviet Sociological Association and director of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion. Zaslavskaya is introduced by the screen caption and a narrator who is not shown, but who, judging by his voice, appears to be the interviewer.

As the program begins, video shows Zaslavskaya interviewed in a studio. This alternates with shots of Soviet newspapers highlighting Zaslavskaya's articles. She discusses the recent party conference and compares it with a point of a curve characterizing the development of Soviet society. She cites the conference delegates who talked about meetings held before their departure for the conference and proposals sent to the conference. She then says she expects the conference decisions will be discussed at new meetings, after the delegates return home, and she reiterates that this is a new situation in Soviet life.

Then, in answer to Parfenov's question, Zaslavskaya defines public opinion as "a certain and specific element of the public conscience. What is the specificity? Its main specificity lies in that it is an opinion." She continues: "An opinion always contains an element of assessment; this element of assessment is specific for the public opinion: what is good and what is bad; what is needed and what is not. I would like to emphasize now that the concept of public opinion can be applied not only to a society as a whole, but also to its large groups as well."

She then addresses herself to the nationalities problem: "The research by sociologists in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast several years ago, indeed, indicated that the situation there was heating up. This was seen from the research, and reports were written on this topic, but no due attention was paid to them. I think that one of specific features of the present time is that administrative workers [rabotniki upravleniya], including those at the very top [vysshego eshelona vlasti], have really comprehended that one cannot have an efficient administration without knowing public opinion and being supported by it. One makes a decision that is seen as correct and quite optimal by oneself, one's advisers and companions—let us say, conventionally: a decision made by those living in Moscow. However, this decision is then to be implemented across the entire country and in all its remote regions. Now, the way this decision is perceived in other regions, what actually happens there, and whether or not it is implemented, greatly depend on public opinion and people's attitude toward the decision. But, indeed, this could have been learned beforehand!"

Parfenov's asks if public opinion can be wrong and says that the mail received (?by Soviet television) has convinced him that a national referendum, if held, would unambiguously decide: There is no need for cooperation. Zaslavskaya says that "when we speak about the need to study public opinion, this does not mean that public opinion on any question should be automatically included into the system of administrative decisions and treated as the final word. However, it is extremely necessary to know public opinion, because it has an influence on events. It may be wrong, but it nevertheless has influence and can be an important obstructive factor".

Zaslavskaya says that "about 15 percent of those polled among the adult population truly favor the development of individual labor and cooperative activity. It is very important to know this, terribly important." She then says it is being planned to include this question in the next poll, and that it should be noted in detail for different regions of the country and for different strata of the population.

The narrator discusses Zaslavskaya's work in the Novosibirsk Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences and says: "An incident which later became widely known occured in 1983. This is because due to the report on social mechanisms and economic problems, Novosibirsk Obkom imposed a party punishment on the academician. At that time, such discussions were not encouraged."

After Parfenov remarks that a discussion of problems, about which decisions have been made, is still possible, even though there is a tendency to discuss a problem only until a decision is made, Zaslavskaya interjects: "Luckily." After he remarks that "99.99 percent of those who voted or expressed their opinion on a subject does not satisfy anyone any more", she replies: "99.99 should be cause for extreme concern, because in a vital society—if it is a vital one, if it has vital forces—even in a small scientific collective, opinions always differ. If these do differ, if one can suggest an opinion at a scientific council that differs from the majority, this then means this is a vital collective and that it has prospects. If everyone unanimously votes for something, this indeed creates a frightful situation. We inherited this situation from the past, and I cannot see anything good about unanimity. People are different, and so are their lives and the experience they have accumulated. This is why it is natural to have different views on the same subject. Only collisions of, and a struggle between, these views, and the mutual convictions of each other are capable of finding—let us not say the truth—but a solution which, being some type of a resultant force, will to some extent satisfy different groups of the population. It does not mean that the solution is the final answer, but it will be a wise compromise that will embrace various sides of the truth." She continues: "The problem of the view of the minority appears to be extremely important."

The narrator notes that the level of social statistics in the USSR is considerably lower than in most developed countries, and that social research is banned for "a majority of those who are noninitiated [neposvyashchennykh]." He also says he cited this from a Zaslavskaya article in PRAVDA entitled "Restructuring and Sociology". To this, Zaslavskaya responds: "How can one combat sentiments? The only way is to persuade people that there is no other way. With the method of destroying sentiments, one can merely drive them...[changes thought] One can ban discussions, but they will then carry them on at home. Let us ban discussions at home; they will then merely think...but they will act in accordance with their thoughts. This means that the task lies in a relevant change of thinking."

Parfenov asks: "What is the optimal political mechanism that would transform public opinion, or at least take it into consideration, when a certain decision of state importance is being made? How do we use public opinion in such a way that this would be reliable?"

Zaslavskaya says: "There are several such mechanisms; there may be a lot of them. I would begin with with the mechanism of the democratic election of representative bodies. Do we consider public opinion when we elect executive committees, for example? The democratic mechanism presupposes several candidates and a democratic system of proposing the candidates. What kind of public opinion is involved if delegates are appointed by those at the top? If all that is left for people to do is to say 'yes' or 'no', while they are also watched to see whether or not they enter the polling booth and whether they write something [on the ballot], we then get the opinion of the bureaucratic apparatus, not public opinion. This, certainly, is not the system.

"People should be given the right to propose delegates in labor collectives, and different [changes thought] ... Besides, there is the problem of proposing one's own candidacy. Generally speaking, this way is not the worst way; if a person has a calling for it and has a program for his work, why can't he nominate himself? These conscientiously elected delegates will feel considerably more responsibility. By the way, this factor was noticeably pronounced in the course of the conference." She adds: "We merely have the practice of considering that those on top see things more clearly, and others agree with them."

As video shows the recently published book "There Is No Other Way", which is a collection of articles by a group of leading Soviet economists and sociologists, including Zaslavskaya, Parfenov asks: "You mentioned in an article of this collection that the nature of the party conference is unusual and unprecedented in at least the last 60 years. What do you, as a sociologist, think about the changes in peoples' sentiments and public opinion that can be caused by the fact that tense passions were manifested at the party forum which was watched by millions of people on television and read about in PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA reports on delegates' speeches?"

Zaslavskaya says that she expects further politicizing of public opinion and an increase in people's social and political activity. She adds that delegates' speeches demonstrated that they belonged to different strata and groups. "The difference of views and positions of workers of the party and Soviet apparatus, on the one hand, and workers, enterprises managers, and creative intelligentsia on the other hand was striking. This difference was very great, and the audience was extremely varied. Stormy applause greeted speeches that were directly opposite in their content. This means that on different occasions different sections of audience applauded. Therefore, I think that there will be no definite shift to the left or to the right—although nobody knows now which side is the right—let us say toward an increase in radicalization of political thinking, or on the contrary, toward an increase in conservatism. I think that every person or a certain group will draw from the conference the conclusions they choose." She adds that, in her opinion, it will take some time to compile the materials of the conference.

Answering Parfenov's question as to whether any changes have been introduced by the conference into the recent resolution of the party Central Committee on the task of sociology and the sociology center, Zaslavskaya says that it was a unique resolution in the whole history of the Soviet Union that indicated the direct connection between restructuring and sociology. She also says that, in her opinion, "two sciences, that is economics and sociology, are in the focus of restructuring." She compares the life of the stagnation period with the slow and quiet flow of large river, while "in the zone of rapids, when there is (?a wild dance) all around you and you are dragged, and when the flow is drastically increased, one absolutely cannot live without feedback, without knowing where you are, without a compass, stars, and navigation charts. Therefore the management system should constantly and systematically have information on what is going on in the lower strata. This is the first application of sociology.

"The second application of sociology lies in the intensification of people's social and political conscience. It requires certain work to make people reject their base interests, make them consider themselves citizens and get them interested in current life processes, make them citizens who would wish to develop their point of view on these questions, accept a certain position, loudly pronounce their interests, and struggle for them. Sociology, results of sociological research, and publication and discussion of these results, including the televised discussions, are important means of involving and informing people and, as a result, promoting restructuring, because this is necessary for its success."

In conclusion, the narrator cites the resolution of the party conference on the democratization of Soviet society and the reform of the political system: "The resolution is to develop a mechanism for democratic revelation and formation of interests and the minds of all classes and social groups, their coordination, and realization."

Paper Comments on Informal Public Debates

PM2707102788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by I. Menkhus, lecturer at the Frunze Polytechnical Institute's Philosophy Department, under the rubric "Learning Democracy": "'Debates' in Pushkin Square"]

[Text] Frunze—I was in Moscow on purely personal business. One evening I entered Pushkin Square and... was drawn into a kind of continuous human swirl. The crowd was massed around the monument and concentrated in various groups around various speakers. I went up to the nearest group and listened. The speaker was talking about the losses suffered by Russian national culture "during the period of the vulgar conception of the tasks of the antireligion struggle." The speaker put a figure on the places of worship that had been destroyed and named the former sites of the most well known among them. The audience sadly nodded their heads. I too had started to sympathize with the speaker, then something put me on my guard. The speaker at that moment was trying to explain the reasons behind what happened. The answer was incredibly simple—some kind of omnipresent secret organization engaged in intrigues against everyone and everything was to blame for everything. This explanation failed to satisfy many people. Skeptical remarks were heard. I too started asking questions. The answers were basic and naive, clearly colored by nationalist sentiments and scarcely concealing their hostility to socialism.

Many people, including me, were not satisfied by the standard of the discussion and crossed to the neighboring group. It was setting forth the programs for some kind of proposed party that would be made up of three factions and an independent group. The "association"—as far as I could tell—would be based on one thing: rejection of the CPSU's leading role. This speaker's skill with certain oratorical turns of phrase and his facility with pseudoscientific terms attracted a large audience. But here too someone from the crowd only had to dig deeper, so to speak, to immediately reveal the flimsiness of his arguments.

Switching from group to group, giving answers, and asking questions, I noticed that several other people were switching with me. One of them approached me:

"I see you keep walking, explaining, arguing... Are you yourself sure that the party will cope with the bureaucratic opposition in its own sphere?"

The question sounded quite sincere. People moved around us right away, and I unexpectedly found myself in the middle of another group. I had to answer questions for quite a long time, there were lots of people. I cannot say that I was completely satisfied with my answers: I was not prepared for such a role. But, together with my audience, I came to the conclusion that there is no need to oppose socialism in order to resolve the most difficult problems of our past and present, or of our progress in the future. Moreover, renewed socialism is the only possible way to solve them. Most of all at that time I was afraid of being suspected of insincerity. People were crammed together, touching me and each other, and every word was seen as a "ray of hope," as it were.

"Why listen to him? He's a party member. What can he tell you?" someone's harsh voice interrupted.

I shouted back absolutely honestly:

"You're wrong, I've never been a CPSU member. And I'm not a Muscovite. I'm from Kirghizia..."

I visited the square again the day after the party conference. The discussions (on that day they were held on the other side of the street from the monument) mainly centered on the delegates' personalities: Somebody liked so-and-so, somebody attacked so-and-so... A drumbeat was suddenly heard somewhere nearby, further off a brightly dressed group of members of the Krishna cult were wearily chanting their incantations. It was hot, dry, and crowded... I remember the sincerely surprised parting glance of one of my interlocutors: It was not his first time in the square, but he had never expected to meet a person here who was openly defending Marxist-Leninist positions. And he was right to be surprised. He was right! I listened to so many speakers during those evenings, but not once did I hear from anyone an objective or profoundly competent assessment of the path traveled in the last 70 years provided without prejudice or negative overtones. Why do those who come to Pushkin Square receive sympathetic attention from those trumpeting the most varied ideological directions, but not see any qualified propagandists, authoritative historians, or writers?

I must ask my Moscow colleagues to forgive me, but it seems to me that they work in the traditional way—from top to bottom. The long decades of this approach to propaganda activity have seen an accumulation of obstacles of alienation between the ideological apparatus and the broad masses. I felt that very acutely in Pushkin Square. Restructuring has shaken our society up. People are striving to deliberately create their own lives themselves. "Casting doubt on everything"—that slogan of K. Marx' is becoming the people's way of thinking, creating a revolution in socialist renewal. That is why people are looking for opportunities for direct, informal contacts over and above the usual forms of obtaining ideological information. They go where the very atmosphere holds out the promise of an interesting discussion on equal terms and with no fixed rules. That is what brings them to the square.

But, in my opinion, glasnost is presented here in a damagingly one-sided way, on the basis of arbitrarily selected and sometimes simply false "facts." These facts are all supplied emotionally, aiming to exploit the crowd's susceptibilities, and therefore they often succeed. However, people at least need to familiarize themselves with different points of view. Their level of educational and ideological maturity and their experience of real life make it fully possible to entrust them with making the choice themselves. We must just approach them without fear or false "shame." And since when have we—the party's political fighters—been afraid of the masses? Why are we ready to speak in formal auditoriums, but whenever the auditorium is a square we easily give the floor to half-ignorant bawlers?

True, I also heard other voices saying: "All these difficulties are unimportant. There are enough militiamen in and around the square—they should put a stop to this talking shop right away, period." I think that such a decision would be a mistake—with the exception of those cases when clearly antisocialist and anti-Soviet speeches and even misanthropic ideas are voiced. Here, needless to say, we must act in accordance with the USSR Constitution. But when there is a collective discussion of the new phenomena in our social life and a search for ways toward new thinking—then under these circumstances people should have a place for frank, vital, and unorganized discussions. And the party and Komsomol ideological aktiv should participate in an open, principled, and respectful comparison of views. In Moscow or any other population center we should create our own Pushkin Square without waiting for special authorization or passes and without the usual rostrums and microphones. People are waiting for us, they need us. Now, right away!

Weekly Sued; Plaintiffs Fail To Turn Up

PM2607144388 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Yuriy Shchekochikhin: "Why Didn't the Trial Take Place?"]

[Text] Those of our readers who saw the last program of the popular television series "Before and After Midnight" may recall the piece on the trial in the Moscow Sokolnicheskiy Rayon People's Court of the case brought by V. Zimarin, former Odessa Oblast prosecutor, and Yu. Bobovskiy, former Ukrainian KGB operations officer for Odessa Oblast, who were mentioned in my article "Storm After Storm," against LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and the article's author (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA for 2 December 1987).

The essence of the suits filed by Zimarin and Bobovskiy is that, though they essentially did not deny that they fabricated the criminal case against A. Malyshev (for which Zimarin and Bobovskiy were dismissed from the organs and expelled from the party by decision of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee), the newspaper, according to them, groundlessly cited Malyshev's words about the ways that were used to obtain testimony from him in prison (this is the plaintiffs' main complaint). Bobovskiy cited Zimarin's testimony, and Zimarin cited Bobovskiy's testimony. They are convinced that there were no other witnesses. Only the walls.

Since there had not been time to question all the witnesses at the first session, the trial was postponed to Thursday 21 July. The date and time were agreed with plaintiffs Zimarin and Bobovskiy.

Then the day of the trial arrived. By 1100 hours the defendants had arrived in court; M. Voznesenskiy, leader of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA juridical service, and I; along with the 10 witnesses we had summoned from Odessa. Everyone was there—except the plaintiffs. Court Chairman A.G. Shchuplyak did not begin the session for 45 minutes: Perhaps they would still come? Perhaps the train was late? Perhaps they had forgotten the way to the court building?

The plaintiffs and their witnesses did not appear in court. They gave no warning about their absence. It was decided to postpone the court session and fine Zimarin and Bobovskiy for contempt of court.

A paradoxical situation has emerged: It is not the plaintiffs who are hunting the defendants but the defendants who are hunting the plaintiffs. What is the reason for this? I personally think it is the same as the reason why Zimarin demanded categorically at the last session that Central Television stop filming and Bobovskiy shielded himself from the television camera: fear of glasnost. They were much happier behind closed doors without extra witnesses...

To ensure that the next session is not also wrecked, we inform Zimarin and Bobovskiy that it has been called for 8 August at 12 noon. If our plaintiffs have difficulty getting tickets for Moscow, we advise them to seek assistance from the legal advisor at the main station in Odessa... Zimarin. Especially as, so people in Odessa believe, this position was specially invented for a prosecutor who has discredited himself.

Contents of New KOMMUNIST Issue Described

PM2707153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] The 11th issue of the journal KOMMUNIST has been published. It opens with a selection entitled "Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference on the Pages of KOMMUNIST." Delegates A. Kauls, A. Nikonov, Ye. Auyelbekov, R. Sturua, M. Bronshteyn, A. Korolev, I. Stroganov, B. Paton, G. Smirnov, and A. Zhalis impart their impressions of the conference and speak of the most acute issues of our day—the food problem, cadres policy, the culture of restructuring and the culture of democracy, the democratization of economic management in its regional aspect, the introduction of full economic accountability [khozraschet], self recoupment, and self financing, and the role of science in restructuring. There is also an examination of the fundamental characteristics of the qualitatively new state of socialism and attention is paid to the soviets' work under the new conditions.

The urgent tasks connected with reorganizing our society's political system are examined in the article by V. Kudryavtsev and Ye. Lukasheva entitled "The Socialist Legal State." Statistics—do they help to implement a radical economic reform and effect the transition from predominantly administrative forms of management to predominantly economic methods?—these questions are answered in P. Guzhvin's article "Statistics Are Not a Flood of Paper."

The journal opens a new rubric entitled "Rereading the Shorthand Reports of the Party Conference" under which detailed commentaries by specialists on individual ideas voiced from the conference rostrum will be published. Published here is an article by K. Kagalovskiy entitled "Shrinking! Urgent Problems of State Finances."

I. Frolov's article "Man, Science, and Humanism" raises questions of the function and responsibility of science, its position in society, and its attitude toward it. The link between scientific and technical development and social development is becoming increasingly close.

V. Bushuyev produces a survey of the editorial mail entitled "History Through Readers' Eyes." The rubric "Science and Education" is represented by B. Saltykov's article devoted to the role of science under the new conditions of economic management.

The journal continues the section "Debates and Discussions" which contains an article by I. Usachev entitled "The General Human and Class Elements in World Politics."

"Intensifying Cooperation" is the title of an article by V. Mikheyev and M. Trigubenko devoted to the most important tasks of the socialist community—the elaboration and implementation of special comprehensive programs for the European CEMA countries' cooperation with Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia. The issue publishes reviews and a chronicle of events.

Muslim Board Chairman Comments on Restructuring

LD2407201288 Moscow International Service
in Arabic 1400 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Excerpts] We receive many letters from you, dear listeners, in which you ask us to tell you what the Muslims in the Soviet Union think of the current renewal process in our society. For instance, Brother 'Ali Wafat from Syria asks about the role of the Muslims in the reconstruction process, and the Egyptian Ahmad 'Abd al-Wahab asks whether the Muslims support the current reforms in our country. Our correspondents Nikolay Gilikov asked Mufti Shamsuddin Babakhan, chairman of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, to answer these and other questions. [passage omitted]

The mufti said that the stance of the Soviet Muslims toward restructuring is clear. They support the current changes in our society. Restructuring is necessary. The Muslims understand this completely. Similar to the other Soviet citizens we understand that it is now the time to change our life qualitatively and to rid ourselves of all the negative aspects of the past and its effects which used to deform our life.

Mufti Babakhan continued: I also have a question to you and to our listeners. Why do Soviet Muslims support the current qualitative changes in our country? Religious people are part of the Soviet people, and like the other sons of the people, we would like to see our homeland a prosperous country. This is what the Soviet leadership works toward now. For the sake of objectivity, I would like to say that we can see than many of the Islamic principles agree with the human high values called for by the leaders of our country. Therefore no disagreements or duplication of position could exist. The line of the religious leadership is very clear and is supported by all the practicing Muslims in our region. They support the restructuring process.

[Announcer] What represents the harmony about which you talk? Could you talk to us about it?

Mufti Shamsuddin continued: This includes, for instance, working for peace and struggling for it, which occupies one of the most important spots in the activities of the religious administration of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. There are many examples, but I will not stay on this topic for long because it will take such a long time. But I will mention the conference that was held in 1985 under the motto: Men of Islamic faith in the struggle for peace. This conference made a strong impact on many men of the Islamic religion, it had the most important effect on many of the men of the Islamic faith. However, more important is the fact that its effects are still alive and warmly supported by many Muslims who are still in foreign countries.

In our work for peace, we start from the principle which I mentioned earlier. In this principle, harmony, which is security in thoughts of peace and fraternity between people, ought to infilterate every society and ought to reach everyone whether or not he believes in God, and regardless of whether he believes in other principles. Peace is necessary for everyone, and there is no future without it. This should be understood by every man.

The mufti continued: The forms of our action vary. We participate in the work of the Soviet Peace Committee, we are represented at the presidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Afro-Asian People, and we donate large sums of money to the Soviet Peace Fund and other social organizations. We are very proud of all these things because we know that we are contributing as much as we can to a joint public cause—the cause of the struggle to preserve peace in the universe.

[Announcer] Thank you. When you talked about the compatibility of human thinking, you pointed out the activities of Soviet Muslims for the sake of peace. Now, we would like to go back to the questions of our listeners, including the Syrian 'Ali Wafat, about the role of the Muslims in restructuring. Please, would Your Grace comment on issues concerning the internal life of our country.

Mufti Babakhan talks about the participation of the Muslims in the social life of our country and says: Let us, for example, take the Lenin's Children Fund. [passage omitted]

Mufti Babakhan then said: There is another side to which I would like to draw attention. It is the complete compatibility between the aspirations of the believers and the course of the Soviet leadership aimed at ridding our society of ethical degenration and bad morals, and also working toward eliminating all faults represented by drunkenness, drug adiction, bribes, and disrespect for human beings. In this area, we have the same opinion: It is that the more cleanliness, there is in our society, the easier the competition in it. The Muslims also support the Soviet leaders in carrying out deep economic reforms. [passage omitted]

New Moscow Old-Believer Metropolitan Elected

LD2507161488 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The archbishopric of Moscow and all-Russia of the Russian Orthodox Old-Believer Church (the Belaya Krinnitsa diocese) has been transformed into a metropolitanate, under the decision taken by the Holy Council of the church. The council held sessions in the days of the jubilee celebrations held by the Old Believer Church in the second half of July.

The council elected Alympiy as the Metropolitan of Moscow and all-Russia—the head of the Russian Orthodox Old-Believer Church. He headed the Moscow archbishopric for over two years after the death of his predecessor Archbishop Nikodim.

The ceremony of enthronization of Metropolitan of Moscow and all-Russia Alympiy was held at the main cathedral Church of the Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin last Sunday. Taking part in the ceremony were Bishop of Kishinev and all Moldavia Timon and Bishop of Kiev and all Ukraine Ioann, representatives of the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Old-Believer Church.

The celebrations to mark the millenium of Christianity in Russia will continue on July 26 in Kiev. A prayer at the monument to Prince Vladimir is to be held there. Celebrations will then continue at the historic old-believer centre—the village of Belaya Krinnitsa, which is closely associated with the history of the Russian Orthodox Old-Believer Church.

Trawler Catches Fire in Atlantic; One Dead

LD2807131588 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Riga July 28 TASS—A fire broke out aboard the trawler "Jurmala" of the Riga centre of the trawler and refrigerator fleet. The trawler was conducting fishing operations in the Atlantic. The fire spread from the engine room over to the fish processing shop.

The ships of the Western, Northern, and Azov-Black Sea basins, which happened to be nearby, hurried to the aid of the trawler. Most crewmen were evacuated. The fire was put out. One member of the crew died. At present the trawler is alongside the refrigerator Lazurny Bereg. Fish is being unloaded. Then the Jurmala will be towed to a Soviet port if it is unable to proceed on its own.

Briefs

Internal Affairs, Journalists Seminar

The all-union seminar for leaders of press groups of the political departments of the Ministries of Internal Affairs of union and autonomous republics and of kray and oblast Internal Affairs Administrations, ended in Leningrad on 27 July. Discussion centered on how to provide the population with more information on the militia's activities, how to make previously prohibited areas of its work accessible to journalists, and how to strengthen links with the press. The report by Lieutenant-General of the Internal Service Anikiyev, head of the Political Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [title as heard], and the speeches by staff of the law enforcement agencies and press representatives noted that glasnost had already made many unbroachable subjects accessible to the newspapers, television, and radio. Practice has shown that the interaction of Ministry of Internal Affairs staff and journalists not only helped to render dangerous criminals harmless, but also activated the struggle against drug addiction and prostitution. The seminar emphasized that the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference on glasnost and legal reform raised that work to a new level. [Text] [*LD2807022088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 27 Jul 88*]

Dushanbe Glasnost Press Center

A glasnost press center has been opened and will operate on a permanent basis in Dushanbe. Its task is to ensure broad glasnost and openness in all aspects of life in the republic. Here one can obtain the minutes of plena of the Tajikistan Communist Central Committee, sessions of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and material about various sessions and conferences and statistical information. Links have been set up with the editorial offices of all newspapers. [Text] [*LD2307233488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 23 Jul*]

Azerbaijani Official Dies

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium have announced with deep sorrow that Aleksandr Ivanovich Kulikov, 50, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and chief of the General Department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, passed away on 24 July 88. Today's newspapers publish his obituary, signed by the leaders of the republic. [Text] [*NC2607140688 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0347 GMT 26 Jul 88*]

Economic

Gorbachev Visits Moscow Footwear Factory

PM2807150988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to the 'Zarya' Footwear Association"]

[Text] On 27 July Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Zarya footwear industrial and trade association in Moscow. In the plans for implementing the program to increase consumer goods, the association's collective has a great role to play in developing new methods of production, expanding the range and raising the quality of goods. The association is currently composed of eight footwear enterprises, four of which are located in Moscow.

In conversation with Nikitin, the general director of the association; Shepilova, secretary of the party committee, and Bortnikov, chairman of the labor collective council, a thorough discussion was held on our affairs in light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and on the way work is progressing in the conditions of financial autonomy and the transition to self-financing and self-recouping. A great deal has been done in a short period of time at the main enterprise, the Parizhskaya Kommuna works, in regard to technical reequipment and to uniting the interests of production and trade, while taking into account the demands of the purchasers. Every year the enterprises renews almost 80 percent of its product range. It sells its ready-made output through a network of its own shops, designs new types of footwear, and has business ties with enterprises in socialist and capitalist countries. The association makes quite a good profit, and allocates funds to its raw material suppliers with the aim of improving quality and expanding the range of footwear.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev asked detailed questions about the way work and daily life is organized at the collective; how raising workers' qualifications is organized in connection with the introduction of new technology; the way the markets and fashion are studied; the way the output's competitiveness is ensured; and about how the best designs of footwear are made popular.

In terms of labor productivity, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, your enterprise is one of the leaders in the industry, but in terms of quality and range you still have some gaps to fill. It is essential to devote particular attention to introducing financial autonomy in workshops in order to ensure at each production section the unity of interests of both production and the worker, and to drawing up detailed plans for scientific and technical progress in order to reach new levels and no longer lag behind.

Comrade Gorbachev stressed all leaders and social organizations should have a greater concern for social and domestic issues, for speeding up housing construction and other social infrastructure projects. A good attitude towards people is a very important requirement. In combining financial autonomy with democracy, we will indeed solve most rapidly the problems of renewing all aspects of our life and further deepen and develop the restructuring process.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee visited the cutting shop, the line for cutting semifinished products, and the model footwear shop. In the course of his familiarization with production numerous meetings and conversations with workers took place.

It was noted that the experience of this factory shows ways to resolve problems with the quality of footwear and of saturating the market with needed output which is in popular demand. On the whole, however, for the time being this is still a sensitive spot of our boot and shoe firms. In the number of pairs of footwear per capita we rank among the highest in the world, but as much of the footwear is of poor quality, the problem remains acute.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev then visited the G.V. Mukhamov factory, which was built in May 1987 with Italian technology on a turn-key basis. It specializes in producing especially fashionable women's, men's, and children's footwear, with a capacity of 2 million pairs of footwear per annum. The production process has been set up so that it can quickly switch from one model to another, from one kind of footwear to another.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee looked around the production lines, noted the high standard of production and the modern working conditions. This is a good example for the modernization of footwear enterprises.

In the assembly hall Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with the factory's workers and specialists. Addressing them, he especially stressed the need for a quicker increase in production of various kinds of high-quality footwear for women, for young people, and for children. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee announced that at the forthcoming plenum of the Central Committee, among other problems, the question of consumers goods, the use of all our reserves and resources for for resolving this problem will be posed exactingly. Everyone knows that this industry was essentially taking a back seat. Now this matter is improving. We are taking resources from everywhere to develop it; we also brought into action enterprises of the defense industry in order to overcome laggardness more quickly.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev continued: Restructuring is a changing of the attitudes towards work. It is conscientious work. What would your attitude be, comrades, as consumers of your output, if the heel falls off of the pair of footwear you purchased? You would probably quickly find the culprit. (laughter) It is with just such exactingness that one must treat everyone at his work station.

Everyday questions were also touched upon. I have just talked to one of the woman workers of the Parizhskaya Kommuna factory, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said. She complained that every day she spends 2 or even 3 hours buying food.

This is caused by lines. They form even for things which can be bought freely. One of the problems is the shortage of commercial areas. That is why all sorts of offices must be reduced and the areas they vacate given to the services sphere.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev continued: You had an opportunity to observe the work of the 19th all-union party conference, now we are approaching the work of the party, the local soviets, of production and sciences—in a word of all spheres of our life—in a new way. You and I are laying the foundations for our future. Except for restructuring we have no other way, in the economy, in the social sphere, and in the development of democracy. Glasnost is a most important tool of restructuring. The people must know everything. No longer can we hide our shortcomings. And however angry a few people may get, we are speaking openly without fear of offending anyone. Therefore, boldly follow the road of restructuring! Don't wait for instructions. Do things yourselves. Take yourselves in hand. The working class is the main support of restructuring.

Voices from the hall: We are all for restructuring. We shall do everything necessary.

On his way out of the factory, Comrade Gorbachev met a group of Muscovites living in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon. They made a number of critical comments in connection with supplies of vegetables and fruit to the population. This sphere, Mikhail Sergeyevich commented, continues to lag in both the old and the new areas of the city. We are aware of this, and Moscow organizations are now taking additional measures. It should be mentioned, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee went on, that in spite of all the shortcomings, restructuring is speeding up. And everyone should work actively to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Gromyko Presents Awards to Workers

PM2707104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Awards to Labor Heroes"]

[Excerpts] A.A. Gromyko presented orders of Lenin and "Hammer and Sickle" gold medals to a group of heroes of socialist labor in the Kremlin 25 July.

The recipients included B.A. Zinchenko, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Rostov Oblast's Zernogradskiy Rayon; A.F. Kuznetsov, general director of Kuznetskiy V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy; V.A. Sviridov, steelworker at the same combine; V.K. Kalnberz, director of the Latvian Scientific Research Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics; L.S. Byakova, electric sewing machine operator at Kurgan Sewn Goods Factory of the RSFSR Light Industry Ministry; and N.N. Kashinskiy, leader of a team of ship assemblers and finishers at the 61 Communards Plant.

Addressing the recipients, A.A. Gromyko said:

Dear Comrades!

We have before us in this hall the creme de la creme, people whose paths have all been marked by persistent heroic labor and whose lives have been an exploit. The motherland has rated their deeds highly. They have been awarded the highest decoration granted in our country for valor in work—the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

We honor and glorify your skilled hands and minds—grain grower Boris Alekseyevich Zinchenko, plant director Aleksey Fedorovich Kuznetsov, steelworker Vitaliy Artemyevich Sviridov, surgeon Viktor Konstantinovich Kalnberz, sewing machine operator Lyudmila Stepanovna Byakova, and shipbuilder Nikolay Nikolayevich Kashinskiy. You have all been presented with "Hammer and Sickle" gold medals and Orders of Lenin.

For outstanding production achievements and his great personal contribution to developing grain farming and resolving social tasks Boris Alekseyevich Zinchenko, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Rostov Oblast's Zernogradskiy Rayon, has been made a Hero.

He was born in the village of Kagalnik, where 3 centuries ago peasant freemen gathered from all over Russia under the banners of the glorious ataman Stepan Razin. Boris Alekseyevich probably inherited his Cossack nous and daring from his great forefather, multiplying them by the qualities of the Soviet person—love for people and the ability to find an approach to them. The farm's cohesive collective has brilliant production indicators. An energetic and enterprising man and, moreover, a candidate of economic sciences, this leader has now been running things on the kolkhoz for 3 years under conditions of full economic accountability [khozrashchet] at a constant high profit.

Two Heroes are from Novokuznetsk, from the Lenin Metallurgical Combine. They have gained this title for their great personal contribution to enhancing production efficiency and for the labor valor they have shown.

One of them is Aleksey Fedorovich Kuznetsov, the combine's general director. He can rightfully be called a man of restructuring. He used to work on the ministry apparatus in Moscow. He knew that a complex situation had come about at the combine: There was chronic failure to fulfill the plan, and skilled cadres were melting away. He himself asked to be sent where things were harder, and in a short time he managed to rally the thousands-strong collective and geared it to resolving production and social development tasks. The combine is unrecognizable now: It has been transformed from a loss-making into a profitable combine and it became fully economically accountable this year. This shows how much sometimes depends on the leader. The party now calls for such people to be sought, trained, and cosseted.

Steelworker Vitaliy Artemyevich Sviridov, another Hero from the same combine, can best be described by the titles he has been awarded in our society. They are these: socialist competition winner in 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978, and 1980, "shock worker of the 11th 5-Year Plan," "excellent participant in the USSR ferrous metallurgy socialist competition," "honored metallurgist," "foreman—golden hands," "Kuzbass prize winner," "RSFSR honored metallurgist," and "best mentor in the combine." Henceforth he is also a Hero of Socialist Labor.

The profession of surgeon, particularly military field surgeon, is held in high esteem even among physicians. Just such a specialist is Viktor Konstantinovich Kalnberz, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and chief of a Riga Medical Institute department, who has been awarded the high title of Hero for great services in developing medical science and training scientific cadres. Much could be said about his deeds. But I wish to cite just one figure and just one fact. The figure is 12,000 people. This is the number of people the innovative physician has returned to work and put back in commission thanks to his art. And here is the fact—Afghanistan, where he not only treated servicemen in hospital but also trained physicians to work as surgeons under conditions of military operations.

For outstanding achievements in labor, for overfulfilling the targets for the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, and for labor heroism the title of Hero has been conferred on Lyudmila Stepanovna Byakova, sewing machine operator at Kurgan Sewn Goods Factory. She comes from beyond the Urals. At the enterprise there she sets an example of heroic labor. We know that there are record labor indicators in a shift, in a week, in a month, and even in a year. But what Lyudmila Stepanovna does is truly phenomenal. Every day for many years she has overfulfilled the target by more than 100 percent. It is no coincidence that she has long been known as the best electric sewing machine operator in the RSFSR. And another aspect of the destiny of this modest, remarkable woman: She transferred to the Soviet Peace Fund and to the Children's Home the money due to her in the form of a bonus in the all-union socialist competition and as a state prize winner.

Nikolay Nikolayevich Kashinskiy, shipbuilding team leader, has been awarded the title of Hero for outstanding successes in fulfilling production targets and socialist pledges and for high product quality. He is a Ukrainian shipbuilder from Nikolayev. He is a highly skilled specialist and a disciplined, efficient, industrious, technically competent, and enterprising worker, exacting toward himself and his subordinates. All these outstanding qualities plus talent as a production organizer—this is what always leads to high indicators in labor in terms of both the volume and quality of output. And his output is our ships, which sail the seas and oceans under the state flag of the Soviet Union.

Thank you, dear comrades, for your labor, which is useful to society and so necessary to the homeland. I express this gratitude together with congratulations from our party's Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government on receiving the high awards. I convey to you heartfelt congratulations from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

I wish you health, joy in your life, and new successes in labor. Convey this to your collectives, whose support you naturally always feel.

Also convey cordial greetings to your relatives and friends, who share with you the joy of this festive day.

The recipients expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government for the high assessment of their labor. [passage omitted]

P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, participated in the award presentation.

Further on Discussion of Draft Law on Quality

PM2607134588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Yu. Rytov "Notes from USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Session": "Quality: Control or Monitoring?"]

[Text] One hundred and forty people were invited to the Oval Room of Government House in the Kremlin 22 July for a session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium. Workers, enterprise leaders, and scientists attended. A question of paramount significance for all strata of the population of our country—the draft Law on Output Quality—was being discussed. Forty people asked to speak. More than 20 spoke during the debate. And if you take account of questions and rejoinders from the floor, you can boldly assert that no indifferent people were to be found in the Oval Room that day.

Let me say straightaway that the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium did not endorse the proposed draft. It did not even accept it as a basis, although work on the document has been going on for 2 years. Why was this? To put it very briefly, the draft bore the clear imprint of old approaches and distinctly showed a reliance on the customary administrative-edict methods of economic management.

However, all this in due course. A report was delivered to the session by G.D. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards, and a coreport by F.A. Amirdzhanyan, director of the State Scientific Research Institute for Standardization. Both speeches contained quite a few correct statements concerning the importance of high-quality output, the need for it to match world standards, and access to the international market. But the methods proposed to solve these problems in no way satisfied either the members of the presidium or those invited to the session.

The draft law contained five sections. One: Quality is the concern of each and every one of us. Two: The place of standardization in conditions of improved output quality. Three: The state system for assessing and monitoring quality. Four: The link between the economic mechanism and problems of quality. And finally, five: The protection of the rights and interests of the consumers of output.

The deliverers of the report and coreport maintained that the document contains clear requirements which could serve as guidance for all links of the national economy in their work to enhance output quality. In their opinion, the draft provided for a comprehensive solution of the problem and the combination of economic, organizational, and social measures, ensured the priority of the consumer, and guaranteed material incentives and moral encouragement for everyone involved in the process. It proposed, in particular, drafting and introducing new standards in line with world standards, grading top-quality output, and certificating enterprises operating in the world market.

There was detailed discussion of incentives to enhance the quality of goods. It was proposed, for example, that expenditure on new technical and technological developments be included in the prime cost of output. When goods were certified as top quality, budget payments would be reduced 40-50 percent. And when enterprises were certificated, they would, irrespective of production volumes, be switched to the top category of labor remuneration.

The report and coreport paid special attention to stepping up quality control in all links and at every level of the production cycle. Not only the existing services of the technical control department and the state reception service but also all the departments to which an enterprise is subordinate were instructed to take part in this control.

N.I. Ryzhkov's rejoinder was: Does it not seem to you that you are restricting enterprises' rights? People must work out for themselves how they should work. I get the impression that the proposed draft does not fit very well with the economic reform.

The debate began. And all the apparently harmonious conclusions drawn by the main speakers immediately disintegrated under sharp, impartial critical fire. Virtually every speech stressed the same thought, namely, that the draft is not in keeping with the new economic mechanism, runs counter in many respects to the Law on the State Enterprise, and encroaches on the rights and restricts the independence of enterprises.

I will cite extracts from just a few speeches.

V.V. Kadannikov, first deputy general director of the Volga Truck Plant: We produce 720,000 vehicles annually. Some 40 percent are exported. What is the point of certifying them? And what do we give priority to—standards or the consumer? The main control of quality must be carried out by the producer. Quality depends first and foremost on the design and technological studies. And also on the system of quality incentives. Control by the actual producers and full material liability for their work are the way to go. As for vehicle standards, they should contain just two requirements: Vehicle safety and concern for the environment. That is what is done throughout the world....

R.A. Belousov, leader of a department at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences: This draft cannot serve as the basis for nationwide discussion. It does not deal with the root causes of the inferior quality of our goods, namely, the existing technology, in the broadest sense of the term. The obsolete equipment. The low level of skill of our engineers. The isolation of science from production. The lack of material support. The monopoly position of the producer. Instead of tackling all these problems the draft merely intensifies administrative bureaucratic functions. I am certain that if the draft were adopted as it is the leaders of the State Committee for Standards would immediately ask the government to increase its staff....

Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law: What time is the draft geared toward? The present day, if not yesterday. What system is it based on? It falls between two stools. For there are at least 10 articles which expand the rights of ministries and departments to influence an enterprise. While some articles either repeat the Law on the Enterprise or narrow its operation. On the other hand, the State Committee for Standards has taken its own departmental interests fully into account....

On the one hand, too much rhetoric. On the other, too much detail. Bias toward the machine building sectors and obliviousness of the specifics of other sectors—construction, transport, consumer services.... These reproaches were also leveled at the drafters of the document. But the main thing, noted time and time again in the speeches, was the depreciation of the role of labor collectives, the command ethos, and the triumph of fines and penalties. Ministries and departments were invested with a multitude of functions under the draft: They organize, support, promote, assist, strengthen, monitor, and so on, and so forth.

The stress was placed, the session observed, on monitoring quality. When it should have been on management!

There was keen debate at the session regarding the concept of the world standard of output. Yes, this concept, speakers said, is applicable to mass-produced items. And it is relatively easy to define. But what do you do with technically sophisticated items? Take the best examples produced by various foreign firms and you will discover that they possess certain mutually exclusive features. Even with a world vehicle standard it is not so easy to come to grips with this. To ensure, say, a vehicle's durability, you have to use more metal. While to increase its speed you have to increase fuel consumption.... And only the consumer himself can say what qualities will appeal to him....

Another sensitive topic also emerged at the session: The role and functions of the state acceptance service. A number of speeches showed that many production workers have been disappointed by this service. They did not of course deny that it does bring a certain benefit, but it costs the state too much....

I.S. Silayev and Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, gave their thoughts on the draft from the rostrum in the Oval Room.

The session was addressed by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He cited several vivid examples graphically illustrating the damage done to the country by poor technical standards and low output quality. We produce more rolled metal each year than the United States. The United States has enough, but we destroy our potential resources! Enhancing quality of output is not only an economic but a sociopolitical task too. If we do not fill the market with goods, we provoke just censure from working people. It is sometimes alleged abroad, however, that this is an organic deficiency of our system. One cannot agree with that! That is why we so sorely need a law on quality.

However, this draft, N.I. Ryzhkov observed, cannot be endorsed in its present form. Nor can we limit ourselves to cosmetic improvements—half-measures won't do here. It has to be worked on afresh.

The substantial deficiencies in the draft were then described. It was redolent of times past, it is not in keeping with our new economic mechanism. And we must find levers, primarily economic ones, to ensure quality control and combine the interests of producer and consumer.

The draft is also deficient in that it fails to take account of the specific features of the transitional period. Certification of output and the state acceptance service are forced, temporary measures. And their temporary nature must be enshrined in the law.

Finally, the presence of man is not felt at all in the draft, and the labor collective's role is not designated. We can have as many inspectors as we like, but if people do not do their jobs properly, no inspectors will save us.

N.I. Ryzhkov stressed that only a socialist market is capable of creating socialist competition, overcoming the monopoly of producers, and decisively enhancing output quality.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium resolved to increase the size of the working group engaged in preparing the document by including prominent economists and production workers in it.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium thus rejected the draft law. The session reaffirmed the orientation toward all-around development of the economic reform and the introduction and strengthening of economic levers of national economic management.

The course determined by the 19th all-union party conference is indeed the only true one.

Changes to State Order System Debated

PM2707093588 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 30, Jul 88 (Signed to Press 21 Jul 88) p 7

[A. Gnidenko article: "State Orders in 1989: A New Concept. Notes from USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Session"—first paragraph is EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] It has already been reported that the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussed the draft Interim Statute for the Placement of State Orders in 1989-1990 18 July. The session was chaired by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Journalists from central newspapers are almost accustomed to being inside the Oval Hall, where the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium holds its sessions. But they are hardly likely to become accustomed to the impassioned speeches in this serene hall, the urgency with which issues are raised, and the bold and uncompromising fashion in which speakers, "without respect of persons," attack those with whom they disagree.

The merit of this style is that it actually presupposes a discussion in which different and at times diametrically opposed viewpoints are expressed.

"I would not have felt confidence in those attending the session," the chairman said in his concluding remarks, "if there had been nothing but unanimity. This would have meant either total indifference toward the problem or total lack of understanding of it...."

There is no cause to speak about lack of understanding of the problem: People who have nothing to say are hardly likely to have been invited here. In addition to members of the government, the session was attended by 150 other people—leaders of top enterprises in various sectors of industry, the construction industry, transportation, communications, and the agro-industrial complex, famous scientists, experts from central economic departments, and representatives of public organizations.

Anticipating events, it has to be said that it was not all that easy to break off the discussion: The session had already been at work for almost 7 hours, and there was no sign of the increasingly persistent requests for "the floor" abating. More than 20 people had "taken the floor."

Journalists are becoming accustomed to the activeness in the Oval Hall because it is easy to explain: This is where specific ways for solving key problems of the country's economic and social development are discussed. And as for passions....

They exploded also on this occasion. But how can you manage without clashes and arguments, how can you refrain from sharp words and opinions when the issue concerns one of the most acute and most fundamental questions of the radical reform of economic management—the procedure for the placement of state orders?

One Step Back or Two Steps Forward? [subhead]

The text of the draft Interim Statute on State Orders was distributed among the conference participants in advance. Outlining this document's basic concept, Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, focused attention on the main and arguable elements in its contents, as if trying to draw fire.

"When elaborating the draft Interim Statute," he said, "we proceeded from the premise that state orders, first, must ensure the economy's reorientation toward the solution of social problems; second, they must accelerate the implementation of the new structural policy; and third, they must guarantee stability of work in all sectors of the economy, in other words, they must ensure steady supplies of fuel and energy resources to them."

Noting that state orders might be structured differently in 1990, the speaker announced that 100-percent state orders in 1989 are likely to apply to consumer goods production (except output of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry), programs and targets connected with scientific and technical progress (the new structural policy is impossible without acceleration of scientific and technical progress), and basic fuel and energy resources.

The first murmur ran around the hall, but it was impossible to determine from this restrained reaction whether those assembled were "for" or "against" 100-percent state orders.

"The application of state orders to other types of output will be differentiated," the speaker went on, "but their overall volume will be substantially reduced—by a factor of 2 or 3. This reduction will be even greater as regards output of the machine building complex (by a factor of up to 6 for individual items). Ministries will lose their right to issue state orders for output for internal sector consumption—this must be governed by 'horizontal' ties, by contracts. Thus many enterprises will be altogether without state orders in 1989. Output not covered by state orders will be sold by enterprises independently—through the wholesale trade network, via direct ties, or through centralized allocation. For example, state orders will cover only 35 percent of the total output of processing centers. The rest will be placed via direct ties."

This, in most general outlines, is the new procedure for the placement of state orders, this is their scope. But it is easy to imagine what a sharp change they might produce in the very nature of economic work in enterprises and ministries, in both horizontal and vertical relations. The broad scope for initiative, enterprise, and economic maneuvers could have a substantial effect on the entire economic situation in the country. But in what direction is the situation likely to change? Will the objectives underlying the concept of state orders in 1989-1990 be achieved?

These key questions were at the center of the ensuing discussion of the draft. The opinions voiced were at times directly opposed—ranging from optimism to alarm and panic.

"The production of diesel locomotives cannot be left to the mercy of market forces!", V.I. Kvasov, general director of the "Voroshilovgradteplovoz" Production Association, declared.

The speech by a representative of the shipbuilding industry was even sharper. This is the impression he conveyed: The new procedure for the placement of state orders is a time bomb planted underneath the shipbuilding industry. In order to prevent a breakdown, he said, it is necessary to cover by state orders all 100 percent of components supplied by enterprises in partner sectors. And in extremis to issue work schedules stamped "state orders," because diesel engine builders are even now threatening to tear up contracts, and instrument builders cannot guarantee to make deliveries.

Some of the other speakers also spoke in favor of 100-percent state orders. Such a stance is, generally speaking, understandable. It reflects the fears of enterprise leaders that they might lose the last guarantees for securing material resources for production. We recall the result of the "fear of freedom" last year, at the time when state orders for the current year were being placed. Under pressure from enterprises, ministries "crammed" everything into state orders, right down to the last nail. For example, state orders handed to agricultural machine building enterprises by the USSR Gosplan covered less than 50 items, but the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building itself made up for this and added more than 1,000 additional ones.

Speaking as a consumer, an enterprise more often than not advocates maximum state orders for its suppliers. Speaking as a manufacturer, it also advocates state orders, but this time to suit its own purposes, when its output is not in particularly great demand. But if the output is selling like hot cakes, as it were, the manufacturer wants the minimum volume of state orders for himself (while again urging maximum state orders for his suppliers), thus trying to obtain guaranteed supplies on the one hand, and broad independence in selling his output on the other.

The 1988 state orders failed to take into account all these intertwined interests of producers and consumers.

Right at the beginning of the year, as if having suddenly come to their senses, economic leaders jointly sounded the alarm: The Law on the Enterprise is being breached! We have been deprived of the slightest vestiges of independence by 100-percent state orders! How much was written on this subject, including by our own weekly! Much was also said about it at the 19th all-union party conference.

The draft, as Yu.D. Maslyukov said, was further amended taking into account the delegates' speeches and the decisions made at the conference.

So why is it that today, during the discussion of a draft Interim Statute on State Orders which is more in line with the Law on the Enterprise, we again hear voices calling for a de facto return to the old planning procedures? What is this—a recurrence of last year's fear of being left without material and technical resources? Alas, it is. But the question must not be oversimplified, participants in the debate said: After all, today—like last year—the supplier retains his monopoly and priority and consequently the development of wholesale trade is lagging, territorial economic accountability is in an embryonic state, direct long-term economic ties are weak, there are still no new prices, commercial work at enterprises themselves is not organized, there is virtually no information and advertising system from which one could learn "who has what and who needs what" so as to seek new partners, and so on, and so forth.

But how will we be able to organize and create all this if there is no demand, and there will be no demand while there are 100-percent state orders everywhere, it was said at the session.

The reduction of the proportion represented by state orders will actually create preconditions for the development of wholesale trade. This is what many speakers perceived as the progressive nature of the new order.

"The draft substantially advances matters compared with this year's practice," Academician A.G. Aganbegyan began his speech, "even though there are some more radical proposals...."

"The document under discussion paves the way for solving many problems," according to A.V. Zayashnikov, general director of the "Yaroslavnefteorgzintez" Production Association.

The majority of participants in the discussion agreed that, subject to amendments and suggestions, the draft could provide the basis for a document which everyone has been awaiting for a long time. But it is hardly possible to take all the suggestions into account: Some are mutually exclusive, others are either locally oriented or insufficiently substantiated, yet others could be implemented only in the long run—as an integrated management system is established, as its "viability" is enhanced. In short, those who have been assigned the task of finalizing the draft have been given a difficult job—to select, as the chairman said, the "golden mean" from among different and at times even extreme viewpoints and to enshrine that which would be most in line with the complex conditions of the transition period, the period of radical restructuring of the economic mechanism.

What Was Proposed and What Was Rejected [subhead]

Original opinions at times produce unexpected associations. You unwittingly "discover" things. Like this for example: Words previously differed from deeds because people said one thing and did something else. Now the gap more often than not develops when they keep doing the same things as before but claim that they are doing something different, something new. This idea was brought to mind by the interesting speeches of "Mosenergo" manager N.I. Serebryannikov, R.S. Suleymanov, general director of the "Urengoygazdobych" Production Association, Kolkhoz Chairman A.S. Danilenko from the Ukraine, and many others who expressed serious concern that obsolete principles and administrative methods somehow slip into the fabric of the new economic mechanism and start operating against it (often under the guise of new terminology like "normatives," "consumption quotas"—yes, this phrase has indeed appeared—and others). They also have a firm grip on people's minds. Moreover, it appears that it is not absolutely necessary to consign obsolete stereotypes to "the archives," let alone demolish them—it is sufficient merely to rename them.

For example, now it is rather risky to openly say: "Administrative methods are the simplest and the most reliable." (This is the most tenacious stereotype, the No 1 stereotype, you might say.) But while holding this opinion, one can loudly demand: "Let's have 100-percent state orders!" State orders which saw the light of day last year as an emergency measure, as one variety of specific administrative planning.

Bearing the burden of this "legacy," state orders can in no way acquire their proper economic content, according to V.A. Rimkens, representative of the agro-industrial complex from Lithuania.

Why does this happen? Could it be because economic methods are being introduced mainly—facts are facts—via administrative methods? How then are we to avoid pumping old contents into new forms? What measures will help to strengthen the economic levers? Where is the boundary beyond which the economic mechanism will begin to tear away the edict methods?

In one way or another, virtually all speakers were concerned with these questions.

N.I. Travkin, famous construction industry worker and indomitable advocate of collective contracts, upheld his view:

"Economic methods will begin to operate when the labor collective's interests are really locked onto end results. Edicts running contrary to interests are not accepted. They can produce just one result—a simulacrum of work."

Looking at state orders from this angle, the participants in the debate agreed that they should contain not only a compulsory element but also a sufficiently large "charge" of economic interest. There is a certain element of interest now—almost guaranteed supplies. But, the speakers noted, this is not enough. Matters must be organized so that enterprises actually seek state orders, that is when we can start talking about their placement on a competitive basis.

"The question of incentives is somewhat vague in the draft statute," I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said. "This point must be strengthened."

The discussion showed that it is necessary to more accurately formulate the very definition of state orders so that this advanced form of planning is not compromised through misinterpretations.

It became clear that many enterprises have started describing as state orders any targets backed by material and technical resources—those stemming from control figures and those "handed down" by the ministry or the gorispolkom. This was the background against which questions of the expediency of "republic state orders," "city state orders," and "oblast state orders" were discussed. The speaker drew the conclusion: Let there be such orders, they must exist, but why the mandatory prefix "state"? According to the opinion of leaders of industrial enterprises and construction organizations, any expansion of the state orders' "scope" is an infringement of economic independence, and this must not be allowed. Hence it is envisaged that state orders in 1989 will be placed only at national economic level.

It is a different matter when it comes to transferring the function of placing state orders from producers to consumers. This was proposed by Academicians A.G. Aganbegyan and L.I. Abalkin and by Gorkiy Railroad Chief L.I. Matyukhin, who, by the way, has been suggesting such an experiment for a long time.

Indeed, there is no logic when, for example, the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building places on behalf of the USSR Gosplan state orders for the production of water heater components, electric locomotives, and so on with its subordinate enterprises. The result is that it is placing its own orders. And who is to be taken to task if the specific consumer refuses to accept the manufactured output? Who will reimburse the losses?

Everything will fall into place, the session participants said, when state orders for water heater components are placed by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, and state orders for electric locomotives are placed by the USSR Ministry of Railways. In such a case responsibility will be actual rather than imagined, and the body placing the order will be more exacting as regards output quality.

In short, the proposals appear quite promising.

Other valuable ideas were also expressed, as well as some different concepts of state orders which did not altogether conform with the draft proposed by the USSR Gosplan. One wished to ask some of the speakers: Where on earth were you earlier?! After all, the train has departed, as it were: Now is the time for active work on the 1989 plan, and this very important document determining the procedure for the placement of state orders is needed right away.

It is obviously not the speakers' fault that the USSR Gosplan notified them of the new draft so late. It is nevertheless highly regrettable that many originators of all sorts of ideas, including of course some useful ones, did not voice them earlier, including in the press.

No one can dispute the fact that the improvement of state orders, an advanced form of planning, is a far from simple and unambiguous matter. The process will continue, new concepts will crystallize in the clashes of positions and the struggle of ideas. It is very important not to forget, not to lose sight of all the valuable suggestions which were made at this session.

Agricultural

Record Grain Harvest in Nagorno-Karabakh

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[Text] Stepanakert July 27 TASS—Grain crop harvesting is nearing completion in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. As a TASS correspondent was told at the state agro-industrial committee of the region, grain crops had been harvested on more than 80 per cent of farmland with an average yield of crop of 27.7 centners per hectare. A total of 82 thousand tons of grain crops have been thrashed. Up to 95,000 tons of grain are expected to be harvested, which is a record figure for the region.

Fodder procurement is also proceeding successfully. A total of 136 thousand tons of hay have been procured, which is 60 per cent up on last year's figure. On top of that 41.6 thousand tons of silage have been procured. Yet the cattle farms of the autonomous region are behind the plan both as regards the production and the sale of produce to the state.

To improve the supply of the city's population with farm produce it is planned to hold fairs in Stepanakert during the next weekend for the sale of fruit and vegetables grown on the farms of the region.

Voronezh, Volgograd Oblasts Harvest Progresses

PM2707144988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents report: "To the Country's Granaries"]

[Excerpts] Voronezh—The early ripening of grain crops and efficient organization of harvest work have accelerated the grain production process in the central Chernozem zone. Yesterday Voronezh grain growers dispatched the millionth tonne of grain of the new harvest to the elevators. [passage omitted]

Volgograd—Volgograd Oblast agricultural workers have delivered the first million tonnes of grain of the new harvest to the country's granaries. Two-thirds of this is winter wheat which consists mainly of strong and valuable varieties.

Military

Central Asian Military District Visited

PM2707104588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin: "Familiarization With Troops' Life"]

[Text] Summer combat training is at its height in the Central Asian Military District, as it is everywhere. G. Kolbin, A. Masaliyev, and K. Makhkamov, first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of, respectively, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Tajikistan; Z. Kamalidenov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of the Kirghiz Council of Ministers; I. Khayeyev, chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers; secretaries of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee; Ye. Bashmakov, first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR

Council of Ministers; and representatives of the three republics' party and soviet organs yesterday visited the training center where the servicemen of the various categories of troops train.

The guests were accompanied by Colonel General A. Kovtunov, commander of the district, and Lieutenant General G. Chuchkalov, member of the military council and chief of the political directorate of the district.

The members of the delegations from the three union republics were familiarized with the personnel's life and combat training under field conditions, attended motorized riflemen's exercises, and observed fire practice and the driving of vehicles along the range's mountain paths in an armored subunit. They attended a scouts' training session. At the training site where a sapper company exercise was in progress the guests were shown the modern facilities used in laying mixed minefields.

In the afternoon the delegations visited the region where one of the motorized regiments of the Rezhitskaya motorized guards division named for Hero of the Soviet Union Major General I.V. Panfilov is stationed. They observed the personnel's actions during a regimental tactical exercise with fire practice. The exercise was led by the division's commander, Guards Major General V. Lukyanov.

At the X armored training regiment the republics' leaders addressed political classes, described the work and decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and answered servicemen's questions.

During a visit to the training unit's military township the guests surveyed the deployment area of the training armored regiment on whose lists Hero of the Soviet Union Senior Lieutenant A. Spirin's name is permanently recorded, observed work at the unit's vehicle pool, and talked with the servicemen going on watch.

The guests were also interested in questions of socioconsumer facilities for the servicemen and members of their families and in the organization of their daily life and leisure.

The first secretary of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Tajikistan took part in an out of town session of the district military council which discussed questions of further improving civil defense.